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THE · ART · OF THE · GREEKS

WALTERS



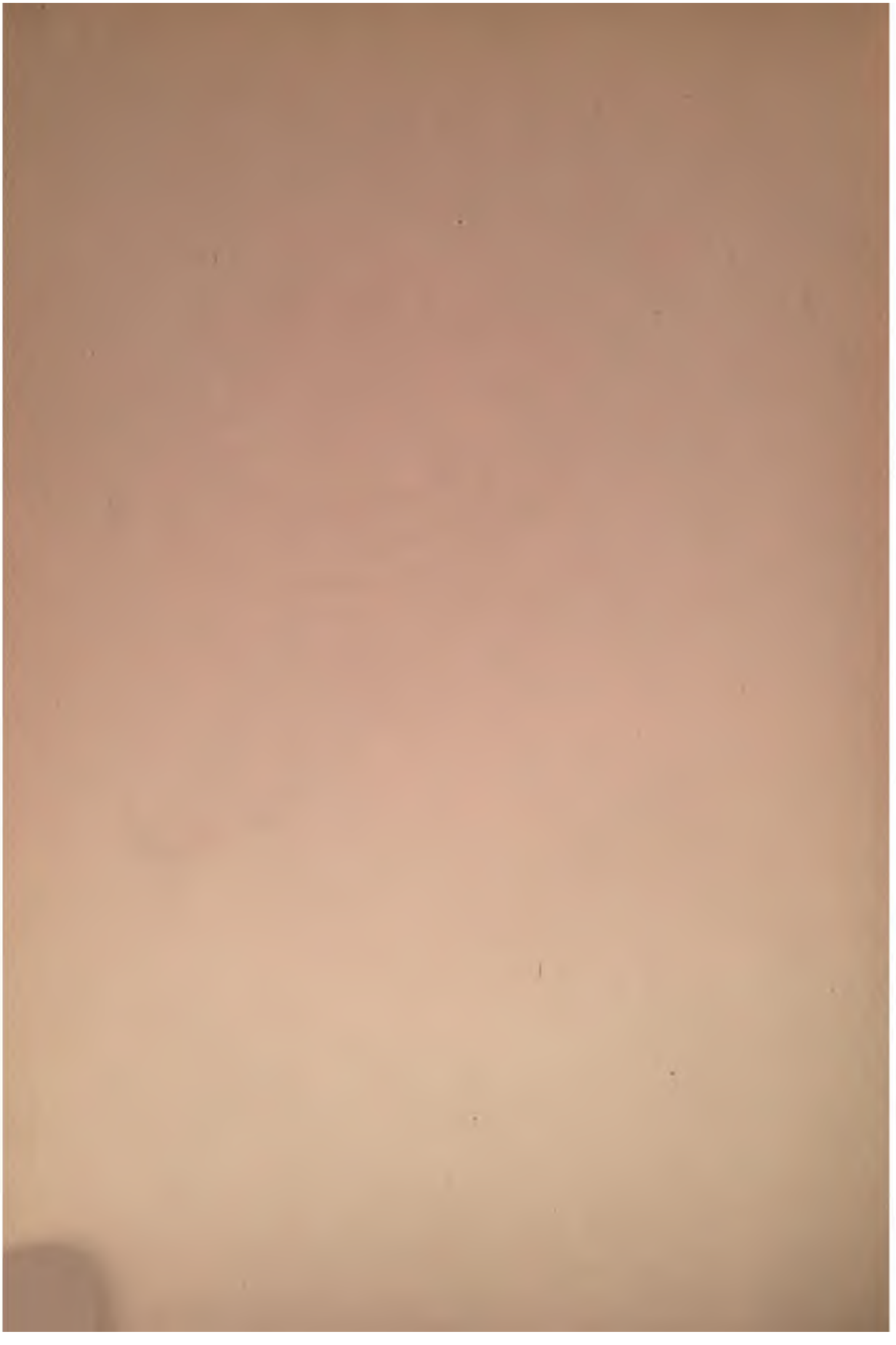
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THE ART OF THE GREEKS

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THE APHRODITE OF MEL..
(LOUVRE)

THE ART OF THE GREEKS

By

H. B. WALTERS

WITH 112 PLATES AND
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H. B. WALTERS

WITH 112 PLATES AND
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PREFACE

THE author desires to express his warmest acknowledgments to the following persons and bodies who have kindly placed illustrations at his disposal:—To the Committee of the British School at Athens and Dr. Arthur Evans for permission to illustrate Cretan pottery and frescoes (Plates I. and III.); to the Council of the Hellenic Society for similar facilities in regard to Plates I., LVI., LXIII., and LXVIII.; to MM. Homolle and Mowat for permission to reproduce Plates XXVIII. and XLIX. (Fig. 2) from the *Fouilles de Delphes*; to Mr. John Murray for kind permission to use his blocks for Figs. 15, 16 and Plates III., LXXIII., LXXVII., and LXXX.; to Messrs. Grevel for similar permission for Plate XXX.; to Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan for a photograph of the bronze Eros in his possession (Plate LVII.). Permission to illustrate the Petworth head (p. 119) was unfortunately refused. Among personal friends he desires to thank Mr. R. Phenè Spiers, Prof. E. A. Gardner, and Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre for the loan of drawings and photographs, and in particular Mr. G. F. Hill for the loan of casts of coins, and for much valuable assistance in the preparation of Chapter XII. Thanks are also due to Messrs. W. A. Mansell and Co. for assistance in regard to many of the photographs; those of subjects in the British Museum are from their collection, while others have been obtained from the English Photo. Co. (Athens), Messrs. Alinari (Florence), Anderson (Rome), Brogi (Rome), Bruckmann (Munich), and other sources.

In the spelling of the proper names throughout the work it may

be felt that there is a certain inconsistency and want of system, but it is impossible to steer a middle course between the absurdities of extreme pedantry on the one hand, and of wholesale Latinising on the other, without incurring such a charge in a greater or less degree. Experience proves that no one system can entirely disarm criticism, still less command universal approval.

H. B. W.

July 1906.

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THE ART OF THE GREEKS

CHAPTER I

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GREEK ART

Modern Study of Greek Art—Limits of the Subject—Winckelmann and Ancient Art—Character of Greek Art—Originality and Idealism—Plastic Character—Influence of Religion and Athletics—Division into Periods—Origins—Archaic Period—Best Period—Period of Decline—Chronological Scheme.

THE increased interest in the study of Greek Art, which may be observed at the present day not only among classical scholars, but to some extent among the cultured world in general, is for more than one reason a matter for congratulation. It has not only enlarged the world of the scholar, by impressing upon him that the study of Greek is more than a matter of grammatical rules and various readings, and that he can, by the aid of archaeology, reconstruct the life and environment of the Hellenic race with greater reality. It has also influenced a wider circle, to whom it demonstrates how great a debt the modern world owes to the ancient, not only within the sphere of Art, but in almost all forms of culture. We are also gradually learning that a mere acquaintance with literary records leaves us at best but imperfectly equipped with knowledge of the classical races, for literature is necessarily limited in its scope; and though we may learn from it all we desire to know of military or constitutional history, of philosophy or rhetoric—in short, of Greek life in its public and external aspect, the true student will desire more. He will seek to know of the religious beliefs and practices of the nation, of details of its social and private life, as well as of its artistic attainments.

In order to acquire this knowledge it is necessary also to examine such visible monuments of its life as have been handed down to us, not only in the shape of works of art strictly so called, but of

every object which can be regarded as evidence of its productive capacity or as an illustration of its every-day life. To collect, classify, and interpret such material is the work of Archaeology.

Now this material has been handed down to us partly in spoken language and written documents, partly in manners and customs, partly in remains of architecture, sculpture, and painting, and the subordinate decorative arts, such as vases, coins, or gems, and it is with the latter class that the study of Greek Art is concerned; with what Sir Charles Newton has styled the Monumental branch of Archaeology. It may indeed be argued in a utilitarian age that such a study has no practical justification, inasmuch as it can do nothing to solve modern problems, social, political, or intellectual; but 'knowledge comes' if 'wisdom lingers,' and the feeling is universal that Pope was right in insisting that 'the proper study of mankind is Man.' And so we desire to know not only ourselves but our forefathers; not only our own capacities and limitations, but theirs; human knowledge is not complete unless it traces out the past to its utmost limits and in all its achievements.

The study of Greek art, then, needs no apology from its advocates; and all around, in universities, in schools, and in other systems of education, it is beginning to find a recognised place; nor must we forget that it appeals in a high degree to the artist, the dilettante, and the connoisseur. The present work cannot indeed claim to satisfy all these demands; its objects will be sufficiently attained if the professed student finds in it an adequate account of the rise and development of each branch of Greek art; the amateur a selection of monuments illustrative of the chief characteristics which each period and each branch of the subject exhibits; and the technical inquirer a brief account of the processes of working in the different materials.

It may meanwhile best serve the end of imparting, to what may seem to some a dry record of facts, more intelligibility and interest, if it is prefaced by a few remarks of a general character. In this opening chapter some attempt will be made to point out the features which mark off Greek art so strongly from that of all other nations, both ancient and modern, and which combined to produce the most wonderful creations the world has ever witnessed.

It must not be ignored that Greek art, with all its homogeneity, covers a period of over a thousand years; in fact, in the light of recent discoveries we are justified in largely extending the period, for the

earliest beginnings of Greek civilisation are now reckoned in millenniums, no longer in centuries, and the continuity of this prehistoric culture with that of historic Hellas is now generally recognised. And though for our present purposes it may suffice to close our survey with the introduction of Roman influence after the capture of Corinth, in B.C. 146, we must bear in mind that this very mingling of the races, when 'captive Greece enslaved her savage captor and introduced the arts into rustic Latium,'[1] kept alive in some measure the flame of Greek art down to the time of Hadrian.

We see then that this art has passed through many distinct phases, according as it has been affected by the supremacy of different races, by the shifting of its centres of gravity, of political or intellectual power, and by other causes. And so the great men of the ancient world, from Pericles to Constantine the Great, may be taken as landmarks in its artistic as well as its political history. The age of Pericles stands not only for the culminating point of the political and military supremacy of Athens, but also for the time of the highest products of Greek literary and artistic genius; side by side with Kimon, Pericles, and Alcibiades, we rank Sophocles, Thucydides, and Pheidias. The conquests of Alexander the Great mark the rise of the individualistic principle in Greek life, of rationalism in literature and art, and of a cosmopolitanism in all directions to which before the Macedonian conquests Greece was entirely a stranger. The supremacy of Julius Caesar coincides with the time when Greek art was accepted as a factor in Roman civilisation, just as the writers of the period turned almost without exception to Greek literature for their models. And finally, under Constantine, we see the decay of pagan culture and pagan art forming a foundation on which, in a new centre, the structure of Christian civilisation was reared, carrying on the traces of Greek influences down through the Middle Ages to our own day.

But it was Rome that introduced Greek art to the modern world. At Rome almost alone were preserved, down to the days of the Renaissance, such remains of ancient art as had escaped the ravages of barbarism; and it was in the palaces and museums of Rome that were collected the majority of the sculptures and other works of art for which we are indebted to the enthusiastic explorers and the connoisseurs of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the middle of the latter period arose one who was destined to be the father of scientific archaeology, in the person of Winckelmann,

[1] Hor., *Ep.* II. i. 156.

whose studies in Rome, the results of which he embodied in his *History of Ancient Art* (1764), enabled him to establish certain general principles, still accepted in the main. It was he who first pointed out the contrast between the freedom and diversity of Greek art, and the limitations and conventionality of Egyptian; and his classification of the former in four periods—beginning, progress, state of rest or perfection, and decadence—still provides the framework for modern histories of classical art.

But the material which Winckelmann had to work upon was after all but fragmentary. He knew nothing of the Parthenon sculptures, of the treasures then lying beneath the soil of Olympia, of the Mausoleum or the altar at Pergamon; still less of the marvellous results awaiting the explorers of Mycenae, Troy, and Crete. To him, therefore, all the more credit is due that on such a meagre foundation he should have raised such an enduring structure of criticism; and it behoves his successors of the twentieth century that with this wealth and variety of material before their eyes they occupy faithfully the Sparta over which they have been appointed.

We may now turn to consider Greek art as a whole, that is, Greek art in its most typical aspect, and ignoring for the moment both the primitive pre-Hellenic ages of embryo development, and the age of decay and transformation under Roman dominion, endeavour to estimate the achievements of the national Hellenic spirit, accomplished as they were in a comparatively short time and within narrow limits, and their effect upon humanity.

Greek art is characterised by two main features: its reality and its spontaneity. Not only was it bound up with every detail of their daily life, but its authors were the first to develop, in modern phraseology, 'Art for Art's sake.' Of the Greek, more than of any other people, except perhaps the Japanese, it may be said '*nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*,' and although the same artistic spirit breathed in the fifteenth-century Florentines, and indeed throughout Western Europe in the later Middle Ages, the latter was much more the result of long training and the heritage of bygone races—even, it may be said, of the legacy left by the Greeks themselves to posterity.

There is visible, in all the products of Greek art, the same invariable instinct for the beautiful which even the old traveller Pausanias recognised in the second century of our era, when the sight of the rude images worshipped in the temples and traditionally

attributed to the legendary Daidalos drew from him the shrewd observation that 'the works of Daidalos may indeed be uncouth to the eye, but yet there is some trace of divine inspiration in them.'[1] Herein lies the secret of Greek art, in the 'something divine' which underlies even its early helplessness. And this artistic instinct we shall see, first in the archaic period, struggling against incapacity and imperfect technique; then in the finest period combining ideal conceptions with a perfected technique; and lastly, in the period of the decadence of art, allowing the conceptions to be overpowered by the too complete mastery of technical skill.

All other ancient art was either purely decorative or mainly symbolical, that is, either the artistic representation was subordinated to some other purpose in the work decorated, as in the art of Egypt and Assyria, or else it was made subservient to the manifestation of some thought or fact, as in the case of the picture-writing practised by the early inhabitants of Crete, as by savages in more recent times. But the Greeks were the first to make statues and pictures representing ideal subjects, in which the sole aim was artistic form and the impression it was destined to make on the spectator.

At the same time we see in the Greeks a remarkable capacity for seizing what was good in the art of other nations. Although the spirit of their productions was always inherently their own, they borrowed largely, both from Egypt and Assyria, not only technical processes, but decorative patterns, animal types, and such like motives. An apt illustration of this principle, which has been given by more than one writer, is, that just as the Greek language was their own, but the alphabet was Oriental in origin, so their art was original, but the alphabet in which it was written was largely derived from external sources. It would even be possible to pursue the comparison further, and point out that the island of Cyprus, which used a quite independent and peculiar alphabet, also preserves a marked degree of independence in its art, which does not follow the same lines of development as the rest of Greece, although the affinities of the people were mainly Hellenic. But even where, as sometimes in the archaic period, Oriental influences were overwhelmingly strong, the Hellenic strain never fails to be apparent.

Again, the genius of the Greeks was essentially *plastic*; in other words, they had a much stronger eye for form than for colour. Hence their marked preference for sculpture over painting, and the wonderful

[1] ii. 4, 5.

instinct for beautiful forms which is visible even in the shapes of their pottery, the humble vessels in daily use, as well as the more ornate examples. In comparison with painting, sculpture is largely conditioned by two circumstances, material and choice of subjects, and may be described as an objective and concrete art, whereas painting is more abstract and subjective. This was altogether in accordance with the tendency of the Greek intellect, at all events for the greater part of their history, and it may be observed that it is precisely when, under the influence of philosophy, it tends in the direction of reflectiveness and abstract conceptions that painting begins to force its way to the front.

Compared with their eye for form the Greeks had little for colour, at least according to modern ideas, and their system of colouring their temples and statues appears somewhat crude to our eyes; but it was to some extent demanded by atmospheric conditions, just as the brilliantly-variegated marbles of an Italian cathedral produce an effect under the pellucid Southern sky which would be altogether lost in our Northern climes. To the same cause were due the subtle optical corrections in their architecture to which we shall have occasion to allude.

The development of Greek art was also favoured by the nature of Greek religion, which was essentially naturalistic and anthropomorphic. Hence it readily gave an impulse to art, and at the same time was an additional factor in turning that art in the direction of sculpture, which much more readily than painting associated itself with religion. And it is interesting to observe how the development of art, especially sculpture, was conditioned by the development of religion, from the days of primitive, even savage, cults and rude formless images almost of a fetichistic character, down to those of philosophical rationalism and emancipated art-conceptions. In many cases where old types are preserved, it is with a conscious intention, chiefly fostered by hieratic influence, to keep up the ancient cult at whatever cost, just as the primitive wooden cult-images were often preserved in the temples. This is best illustrated in the smaller products of art such as the votive terra-cotta figures, or the Panathenaic prize-vases, whereon even in the fourth century the image of the patron-goddess is depicted in the old style and method of the sixth.[1]

But, generally speaking, there is a tendency as art progresses to replace the older deities by the younger. Dionysos and Hermes are

[1] See Plate LXXIII. and p. 173.

in the sixth century bearded men of middle age; in the fourth century Hermes becomes the type of youthful perfection of form, and Dionysos acquires an effeminate character. Again, while in the fifth century representations of the great gods, Zeus, Hera, and Athena, predominate, in the fourth it is the more human conceptions such as Apollo, Aphrodite, and Eros. Thus while Quintilian could say of Pheidias that by his great conception of Zeus at Olympia he had 'added something to the received religion,'[1] a hundred years later passion, pathos, and sentimentality reign supreme, to the exclusion of the loftier emotions.

The same principle is at work both in the drama and in Greek athletics. Contrast the Aeschylean conceptions of the Titanic deities and the grim relentlessness of Destiny with the rationalising attitude of Euripides; the lofty and solemn tone of the Oresteian trilogy with the almost homely treatment of the same subject by the later dramatist. And as with the drama, so too with athleticism, which was at first entirely religious in its associations; for just as the drama influenced painting in the fourth century, so too athleticism had its effect on sculpture, gradually divorcing art from religion as the idea of mere physical beauty began to prevail over the sacred character of the national games. We read indeed that statues of athletes were set up as early as the sixth century B.C., but they were votive statues, a solemn dedication of the athlete's personality to his patron deity, and it was not until the end of the fifth century, under the academic influence of Polycleitos, that such statues were made for a purely aesthetic end. The history of Greek art is then largely a history of the religious and intellectual development of the Greek race.

We have seen that Greek art was long ago regarded by Winckelmann as falling into four main divisions, and that this classification has in the main prevailed down to the present time. The dates, however, which Winckelmann with his limited knowledge would have fixed for the various stages have necessarily been subjected to some alteration since his day. Before we close this chapter it may be found convenient to supplement our survey of Greek Art as a whole with a brief outline of the characteristics of these separate stages, which will also serve as an introduction to the method of treatment adopted in the succeeding chapters for the various branches of the subject.

(1) 2500-1000 B.C. The first period may be styled that of the

[1] *Inst. Orat.*, xii. 10, 9.

Origins of Greek Art, before the dawn of literary history. It is a period of which Winckelmann knew nothing, of which the nineteenth-century writers knew little more down to the eighth decade of that century, but of which we of the twentieth are learning more and more almost every day. In view of the nature of the discoveries of recent years we cannot indeed regard this period—taken by itself—as one of *primitive* art, for in many respects the artist of Knossos or Mycenae was as skilful and as creative as his successor of fifth-century Athens. But in relation to the art of historic Greece it was actually a period of beginnings, of tentative experiments, and of achievements which paved the way for the whole course of later art. In a chronological sense it is coincident with the Bronze Age in this part of the Mediterranean, its earliest products being traced as far back as about 2500 B.C., and its latest efforts, before it was swept away by the inroads of northern barbarians, down to about 1000 B.C. After that date this civilisation lingered on in some districts until it was merged in the new Hellenic culture, but everywhere the latter owed to it a debt of which it was probably unaware, and which scholars are only now beginning to realise. The general characteristics of this period in all its aspects are summarised in the succeeding chapter.

(2) 1000—460 B.C. The **Archaic Period** of preparation and upward progress begins actually in the mythical ages, being conventionally dated from the time of the Dorian invasion (see p. 14) and heralded by the civilisation of the Homeric poems. Taken only in relation to the succeeding period, it is actually, as it was regarded formerly, the epoch of the beginning of Greek art. It extends down to the time immediately preceding the Age of Pericles and the Athenian supremacy, and admits of subdivision into two stages which overlap in point of chronology if not artistic development. The earlier of these may be styled the period of Traditional Art as represented by the poems of Homer and by various monuments or craftsmen of which we have only literary records or traditions. Of existing remains of this time there is but little except survivals or imitations of the art of the first period, and the literary traditions are all we have to fill the gap. This period extends down to the end of the seventh century B.C. The later stage, or that of Earliest Monumental Art, begins with the rise of Sculpture and the rapid advance of the decorative arts towards the end of the seventh century, and ends with the Persian Wars. It is a remarkable fact that two

branches of art reach the height of their perfection within the limits of this period: Architecture and Vase-painting.

The period of the Persian Wars from about 500-460 B.C. may be regarded as a transitional stage, during which the upward development was extraordinarily rapid.

(3.) 460-320 B.C. **The Highest or Best Period,** that of perfection, extends from the rise of Athenian supremacy down to the death of Alexander the Great. It is a peculiarity of the period that it is one neither of development nor of retrogression, but one of rest—as Winckelmann pointed out—during which art remains practically at the same height, though not necessarily uniform in its aims or inspirations, for about a hundred and fifty years. It is marked first by the products of Pheidias and his school, and next by the work of Polykleitos, Praxiteles, Skopas, and Lysippos, in all of whom we see the perfection of the art of Sculpture, though as we shall have occasion to show in later chapters their characteristics are widely different. The art of Painting, apart from vases, lags behind, and does not reach perfection until the appearance of Apelles in the age of Alexander, whereas coins, gem-engraving, and work in metal and terra-cotta all reach their highest point by at least the middle of the fourth century.

(4.) 320-146 B.C. A period of transition of some twenty or thirty years may be observed leading up to the **Period of Decline or Decadence,** lasting down to 146 B.C., and chiefly illustrated by the schools of painting and sculpture which flourished in Asia Minor. Historically it is coincident with the Hellenistic period, the date of its termination being that of the taking of Corinth and subjugation of Greece by the Romans. From this time onward art, which had, ever since the days of Alexander, tended to decentralisation and cosmopolitanism, is usually regarded as 'Graeco-Roman.' It is a convenient if somewhat artificial limit, but affords a suitable point for determining the extent of the present work. The annexed chronological scheme of Greek art will, it is hoped, give an adequate survey in a brief space of the main characteristics and achievements of these four periods:—

CHRONOLOGICAL SCHEME OF GREEK ART

PERIOD.	HISTORY.	ART-CHARACTERISTICS.	SCULPTURE.	ARCHITECTURE.	PAINTING.	OTHER ARTS.
PRE-HISTORIC. 2500-900 B.C.	[Supremacy of Crete, 1500-1400.] [Siege of Troy, 1150.] [Dorian Invasion, 1100.]	Bronze Age. Primitive pottery and bronzes. 'Mycenaean' art.	Rude idols and votive figures, chiefly in clay.	Lion Gate of Mycenae. Palaces of Knossos and Tiryns. 'Cyclopean' walls. Bee-hive tombs.	Early painted pottery of Crete and Thera. Frescoes of Knossos and Tiryns. Mycenaean painted pottery.	Rude terra-cotta idols. Imported cylinders and scarabs. Elaborate gold-work. The Vaphio cups.
BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ART. 900-600 B.C.	[Homer.] Age of Tyrants and Greek Colonisation.	Homeric works of art. Chest of Kypselos. Primitive sculpture. Oriental influences.	Rude cult-images and *xoana*. Traditions of early schools of art and inventions.	Heraion at Olympia. Use of terra-cotta decoration. Temple at Corinth.	Geometrical pottery. Early Ionic pottery and paintings. Corinthian pottery and paintings.	Early bronze reliefs. Island gems. Phoenician glass and faïence ware imported.
ARCHAIC. 600-500 B.C.	Croesus. Solon. Peisistratos. Conquest of Ionia by Persia.	Rise of archaic sculpture. Hieratic and conventional 'types.' Technique imperfect and constrained.	Archaic sculpture begins. Dorian and Ionian schools. Schools of Asia Minor, Sicily, Argos, Aegina, Athens.	Temples in Italy and Sicily (Doric). Temples at Ephesus and Miletus (Ionic).	Sarcophagi of Clazomenae. Painted tombstones. Black-figured vases. Beginning of red-figured vases.	Hieratic types in terra-cottas. Beginning of coinage. Scarabs and scaraboids.
TRANSITIONAL. 500-450 B.C.	Persian Wars (490-480). Athenian supremacy. Kimon's rule at Athens (470-460).	Refined and graceful archaic work. Growth of idealism. Monumental works to commemorate historical events.	Onatas, Myron, and Calamis. Influence of Athletics. Aegina pediments. Olympia sculptures.	*Perfection of architecture.* Temples at Olympia (Zeus) and Aegina. Temple of Athena Nike (450 B.C.).	*Perfection of vase-painting.* Red-figured cups by Euphronios, etc. Inventions of Kimon in painting.	Terra-cotta archaic reliefs. Fine gems with *genre* subjects. Coins approach perfection. Fine bronze statuettes.
FINEST ART. 450-400 B.C.	Pericles' rule at Athens (456-427). Peloponnesian War (431-404).	Idealism combined with perfect technique. Monumental works by the great sculptors and painters.	*Perfection of sculpture.* Pheidias and Parthenon. Other temple-sculptures. Polykleitos.	Parthenon. Temple at Phigaleia. 'Theseion' and Erechtheion.	Polygnotos. Monumental decorations. Fine period of red-figured and polychrome vases and beginning of decadence.	*Perfection of coins and gems.* Athens terra-cottas. Coins of Terina and Syracuse.
LATE FINE ART. 400-320 B.C.	Spartan and Theban supremacies (404-338). Demosthenes. Macedonian conquests. Alexander the Great.	Growth of individualism, sentiment, and passion. Rise of portraiture. Technical success tending to oust nobility of conception.	Praxiteles. Skopas. Lysippos. Sidon sarcophagi and sepulchral reliefs.	Temple at Tegea. Mausoleum. Temple at Ephesus. Choragic monument at Athens in Corinthian style.	*Perfection of painting.* Zeuxis and Parrhasios. Apelles. Decadence of vase-painting.	*Perfection of terra-cottas.* Tanagra statuettes. Bronze mirrors with reliefs. Siris bronzes. Syracusan coins. Crimean gold-work.
DECADENCE. 320-146 B.C.	Hellenistic Age. Successors of Alexander. Pergamene kings. Conquest of Greece by Rome (146).	Decadence of all arts. Decentralising influences. Emotional and pathetic subjects.	Schools of Rhodes, Pergamon, and Ephesus. Aphrodite of Melos. Portraits and personifications.	Pergamene altar. Temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens.	Rise of landscape and genre-painting. End of vase-painting.	Paramythia bronzes. Terra-cottas of Myrina and Sicily. Coins and cameos with portraits. Silver chased vases.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ART

Early Greek Art and Recent Discoveries—Bronze Age Civilisation—The Mycenaean People—Early Remains of Troy and the Greek Islands—Crete and Minos—Mycenae and its Remains—Metal-work and Painting—Literary Traditions—Art in Homer—The Chest of Kypselos—Oriental Influence (Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia).

THE Greeks themselves seem to have held exceedingly vague and uncritical notions about the origin of their art, as of their early history in general, and the statements of ancient writers, such as Herodotus and Thucydides, still more the later authors, like Pliny, must be used with the greatest caution. Until about thirty years ago, indeed, modern scholars were almost equally in the dark, and although the value of the study of archaeology for the interpretation of history had begun to receive adequate recognition, poverty of material afforded little for the student to work upon beyond the literary traditions and the evidence of Homer and other writers. Now, however, all is different, and such a flood of light has been thrown upon the remains of pre-historic Greece by the marvellous discoveries of the last thirty years that we are in a fair way not only to co-ordinate and estimate properly all the literary evidence, but even to reconstruct the social and political history of the lands bordering on the Aegean in the 'Dark Ages' previous to the dawn of history.

The chief merit of this great transformation is due to Heinrich Schliemann and his laudable ambitions, which, triumphing over innumerable obstacles, enabled him to lay bare some of the most famous ancient sites, to recover treasures sufficient to stock more than one museum, and to supply materials for study which even now are hardly exhausted. That Schliemann was something of a visionary, and claimed for his discoveries rather more than was justifiable, does not indeed detract from their value. We may not be able to see in the tombs of Mycenae, as he did, the burial-place

of Agamemnon and his compeers, or to accept his theories as to the city of Troy and the palace of Priam; but he has largely enabled us to reconstruct the civilisation of which Homer has given us but a vague and shadowy description, and in some measure to sift the historical from the legendary and fact from tradition.

But Schliemann does not stand alone as an explorer of pre-historic Greece and reconstructor of its history. Researches have been made by archaeological bodies and private individuals in Attica, in the Peloponnesos, in Boeotia, in the islands of the Aegean, in Egypt, Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus, in fact, in nearly all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean, which have yielded similar, if in most cases less remarkable, results, and each and all have assisted in building up the edifice of accumulated knowledge where thirty years ago was open ground. If Schliemann laid the foundation-stone, the coping-stone will perhaps be the work of his successors, the recent explorers of Crete. This island, since facilities have been afforded for systematic investigation, has yielded results even more remarkable from an archaeological point of view than those of Mycenae. A new world of artistic creation has been opened out, and a state of civilisation revealed which seems almost incredible at that remote date (2000-1500 B.C.); and further, Crete has been established as the primary centre whence this culture was diffused throughout the Eastern Mediterranean.

To put it briefly, during the period usually spoken of as the second millennium B.C.—more accurately from 2500 to 900 or 800 B.C.—there exist all over the Mediterranean, from Cyprus and Egypt to Sicily, and even further, extensive traces of a civilisation coincident with the Bronze Age in most of those countries. This civilisation shows a course of development in its art from the pure copper implements and rude pottery which are found in tombs even along with Neolithic stone implements, up to a stage of really advanced art and extended commerce. At a certain point, however, it suddenly disappears, or at least only lingers on in isolated spots, and is succeeded by a new but much more rudimentary civilisation corresponding with the appearance of the Iron Age—at the point, that is to say, when iron begins to be found in the tombs. It is this latter date which marks the beginning of Greek art proper, in so far as a connected and continuous development can be traced from this time onwards up to the Highest Period of Art.

But in the light of the new discoveries we can no longer say that Greek art or Greek civilisation begins at this particular point. Even





PAINTED POTTERY OF "MINOAN" STYLE



GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM MYCENAE
(ATHENS MUSEUM)

Horace was ready to admit that 'there were brave men before Agamemnon,' and we know now that Homer does not represent the earliest phases of life in Greek lands. It is not at present a settled question how far this early civilisation is entitled to be called Greek, and many theories of its origin have been promulgated by scholars. From the fact that Mycenae was shown by Schliemann to have been one of its chief centres, and had yielded more extensive results than any other region, the name of 'Mycenaean' was given to this civilisation and its art, and though no more than a conventional expression, has become current coin in the language both of scholars and the wider circle of students in general. The only other name that has found any acceptance is that of 'Aegean,' which is at least geographically more correct, inasmuch as the chief centres lie round the shores of that sea, and indicate that it was traversed in all directions by the agents of 'Mycenaean' commerce. The Cretan supremacy is now generally spoken of as 'Minoan.'

It must be borne in mind that neither term attempts to define either the period, the centre of industry, or the racial affinities of this people; but whether we regard them as Greeks or not, at all events they occupied the same geographical area which subsequently constituted Greece, and certainly represent the inhabitants of that region in the Bronze Age. There is even good reason for doubting whether they were originally an Aryan race at all. Meanwhile attempts have been made to show their identity with the Pelasgians,[1] the race which, according to Greek tradition, formed the original inhabitants of many parts of Hellas, such as Attica, Arcadia, and Thessaly, and appear to have formed a stock neither Aryan nor Semite. Such, at all events, seems to have been the ethnographical character of the pre-Mycenaean peoples in Greece, and the Pelasgian theory no doubt contains a measure of truth. But the generally accepted view at the present time is that the people were the Achaeans, the name given by Homer to the Greeks who fought against Troy, and that Mycenae therefore represents the capital and abode of the wealthy Achaean princes (typified by Agamemnon).[2] The political supremacy of Crete belongs, as we shall see, to an earlier stage.

The question of the chronology of this civilisation has turned mainly on evidence derived from Egypt. Not only are Egyptian objects,

[1] See Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* (vol. i. only published).

[2] Homer speaks of 'Mycenae abounding in gold'; and he calls the Greeks Argives, as if Argos was the most important part of the country.

such as scarabs, frequently found in Mycenaean tombs, but there is abundant evidence from Egypt itself, especially in the period covered by the Eighteenth to Twenty-first Dynasties (1600-1000 B.C.), of commercial relations between the two peoples. Scarabs of Amenhetep III. and Queen Thii, belonging to the period about 1450 B.C., have been found in tombs at Ialysos in Rhodes and at Mycenae.[1] The evidence from Egypt is even stronger. Representations of Mycenaean metal-work and costumes were found in the tomb of Rekhmara (1550 B.C.) and pictures of Mycenaean vases in that of Ramses III. (1150-1100 B.C.). Further, not only has pottery of the early Cretan types been found in tombs of the Fayûm, reaching as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty (2500-2300 B.C.), but Mycenaean vases of the ordinary type have been found in tombs and deposits ranging from about 1400 B.C. at Tell-el-Amarna to 1000 B.C. in the tomb of Pinetchem I.'s grandson. The result of this evidence has been to establish a working hypothesis that the Cretan supremacy extended from about 2500 B.C. to 1500 B.C., and was then followed by that of Mycenae for about five hundred years.[2]

The remarkable upheaval which tended to submerge this Mycenaean or Achaean power, forcing on Greece the necessity of learning anew the alphabet of her art, is generally held to be coincident with the Dorian invasion. This event, known to the Greeks as the Return of the Herakleidae (or descendants of Herakles), is supposed to have taken place about 1100 B.C. These Dorians originally came from the plains of Central Europe, whence they crossed the Balkans and settled first in the mountain fastnesses of Central Greece. Becoming more powerful, they suddenly made a southward move, and possessed themselves of the Peloponnese, driving out the Achaeans, who sought refuge on the coast of Asia Minor and in Cyprus. On the other hand, they made little impression on the Pelasgian inhabitants of Boeotia, Attica, and Arcadia. A rude uncultured race, as the history of their Spartan descendants shows, they brought with them a simple and elementary form of art, which made its influence felt in the pottery of several succeeding centuries. The dispersion of the Mycenaean culture in Greece seems to have been complete, and only scattered traces remained to influence here and there the art of the new race. But in the contemporaneous art of Asia Minor and

[1] Caution must always be exercised in basing theories on such evidence, as scarabs were frequently imitated in later times.

[2] See for a summary of the evidence, H. R. Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 76.

Cyprus the Mycenaean strain is much stronger, and later schools of artists evidently owed much to its influence. In Cyprus, indeed, it seems to have lingered on later than elsewhere. The stories of the Trojan War have been thought to owe their origin to the arrival of the Achaean hosts on the shores of North-western Asia Minor, and those of the subsequent adventures of the returning heroes have also been connected with the appearance of Mycenaean settlements in Cyprus and other comparatively remote places.

It now remains to summarise briefly the characteristics of this Mycenaean civilisation.

Undoubtedly the earliest remains are those of Troy, the islands of the Cyclades in the Aegean, Crete, and Cyprus. Dr. Schliemann, who investigated Troy shortly before his death, and his successor, Dr. Dörpfeld, discovered traces of no less than nine different settlements in successive layers, ranging from about 2500 B.C. to Roman times. The first and lowest contained rude Neolithic remains, the second, which Schliemann erroneously supposed to be the Homeric Troy,[1] remains of a more advanced but still primitive character, including simple bronze implements and plain pottery. The forms of the latter are often remarkable, and the prevailing idea of the artist in clay at this time seems to have been to combine as far as possible the fictile and plastic arts, by giving to the vase the semblance of a human form. This was a principle never lost sight of in minor Greek art, and in some measure it is maintained even to the present day, when we speak of the 'neck,' 'shoulder,' 'body,' or 'foot' of a vessel. But of painted decoration or of sculptured images there is as yet no sign.

On the other hand in the Cycladic islands we find not only painted vases of a remarkably advanced type, but also rude sculptured images of marble, representing female divinities. The latter have been chiefly found in the island of Amorgos. The former were found in Santorin (Thera) under somewhat remarkable circumstances, being apparently the remains of a very ancient civilisation overwhelmed by a volcanic eruption which is dated by geologists about 2000 B.C. These early examples of painted vases are ornamented with vegetable patterns of a remarkably naturalistic type, and sometimes even with figures of animals. The latter are, in accordance with a universal law in early Greek art, inferior in style to the floral decoration.

The earliest remains of the island of Cyprus present a strong

[1] Dr. Dörpfeld subsequently proved this to be the sixth.

parallelism with those of Troy, and are probably contemporary with them, *i.e.* not later than 2000 B.C. The tombs contain weapons of pure copper, which point to a time before the admixture of tin necessary to produce bronze had been discovered. Cyprus was always famous in antiquity for its copper mines, and it is possible that the working of that metal (and afterwards of bronze) was first established in that island, and spread thence over the Mediterranean. The pottery resembles that of Troy both in forms and appearance, the decoration being limited to geometrical patterns of lines engraved with a knife while the clay was soft. For some centuries Cyprus preserved a high level of civilisation compared with other countries, but it subsequently showed a tendency to lag behind, remaining content to imitate and combine the features of Greek and Oriental art.

Lastly, in Crete we find remains of a very early civilisation, the pottery resembling in its decoration that of Thera, but more advanced. The decoration consists of floral designs in polychrome colouring on a dark ground or in dark colour on a light ground, or patterns in relief. The seals and engraved stones, of which such numbers have been recently discovered by Dr. Arthur Evans, not only bear signs of a very high antiquity, but are specially interesting from the characters engraved upon them, indicative of a far earlier system of writing than had hitherto been supposed to exist in Greek lands. They are partly linear signs, partly pictographs or hieroglyphics, but their meaning as yet awaits interpretation. They would seem to be the product of the aboriginal inhabitants of the island, whom Homer calls Eteocretes or 'genuine Cretans,' and the signs show affinities with those used by the Hittites of Asia Minor and with the later Cypriote syllabic alphabet.

Since the island has been laid open to the excavator by recent political changes a great work has been done by Dr. Arthur Evans and other explorers in laying bare the ancient sites. At Knossos, the old capital, Dr. Evans has unearthed a vast palace of several stories, which represents the abode of the early 'Mycenaean' rulers of the island, about the sixteenth century B.C. According to Greek legend, as embodied in the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides,[1] the great ruler of Crete—who extended his dominion over the neighbouring islands and even the mainland of Asia Minor—was Minos, the father of the monstrous Minotaur, for whom he built the famous labyrinth. Whether or no Minos ever existed, we may yet see in

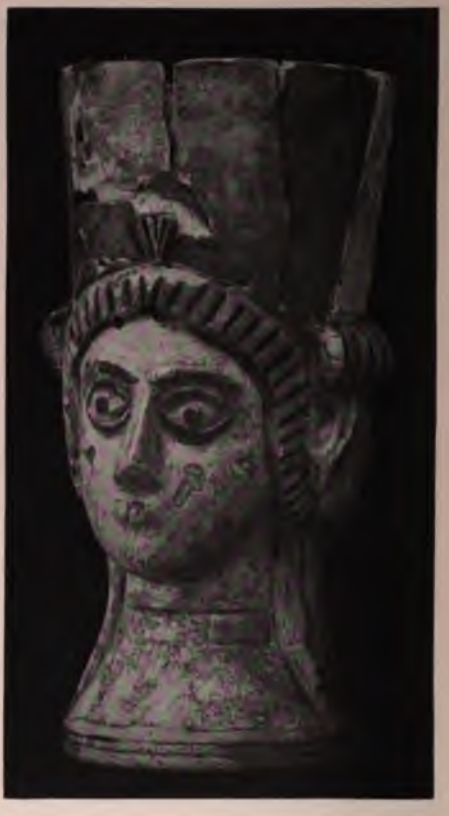
[1] Hdt., i. 173, iii. 122; Thuc., i. 4, 8.





CRETAN FRESCO-PAINTINGS
(FROM THE PALACE OF MINOS AT KNOSSOS)







FAÏENCE VASES AND PART OF IVORY CASKET, FROM ENKOMI, CYPRUS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

this palace the abode of Cretan sovereignty during this period of extended dominion. The island is rich in remains of Mycenaean or 'Minoan' art, such as engraved gems, painted vases, and the extraordinarily realistic fresco-paintings which adorned the walls of the Knossian palace.[1] It would be impossible, however, to give a detailed description of the marvels which have only recently been made known to an astonished world.[2]

But Crete was ere long destined to be overshadowed by a rising power of great commercial importance and almost equal artistic genius, which had its centre at Mycenae and in the neighbouring palace of Tiryns. The excavation of the latter by Dr. Schliemann has thrown a vivid light on the Homeric descriptions of chieftains' houses, and we may see the whole plan of the palace laid bare, with every room and court distinct, and the wonderful subterranean galleries of 'Cyclopean' masonry (see p. 29).[3] But at Mycenae the remains, even at the present day, are far more remarkable.

To view the earliest, the traveller must ascend the hill on which the fortress was built, and pass through the famous Lion Gate, which has stood from time immemorial almost intact, even surviving the general destruction in the fifth century B.C. Within the gate is the Agora, or place of the Council, with its circular stone benches on which the Achaean chiefs sat to deliberate, just as Homer describes them. This circle encloses the six shaft-graves from which Schliemann and his successors obtained a magnificent array of gold ornaments now displayed in the museum at Athens, together with quantities of painted pottery and other objects. The ornaments consist mainly of gold plates with *repoussé* designs of butterflies, spirals, and other patterns, and masks of thin gold-leaf which were placed over the faces of the corpses.[4] Whoever may have been the occupants of these tombs, their belongings certainly show that the Homeric epithet for Mycenae, 'abounding in gold,' was fully justified.

Higher up lay the palace of the Mycenaean rulers, the foundations of which have been laid bare, and lower down the hill-side stand the famous beehive tombs, known from time immemorial as the Treasure-house or Tomb of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra. The former, which may be taken as typical, consists of three parts, the

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[2] For brief summaries of the results, see *Quarterly Review*, October 1904, p. 374 ff., and Reinach's *Art through the Ages*, p. 28; for fuller details, *Annual of British School at Athens*, vols. vi.-x. (1899-1904).

[3] See Plate IX. A plan of the building is given on p. 31, Fig. 1.

[4] Plate II.

outer vestibule or *dromos*, the circular 'treasury' with its conical beehive roof, and (at right angles to the axis of the *dromos*), the rectangular tomb-chamber, opening out of the treasury. Over the outer and inner doors are triangular openings, and round the inner one were sculptured reliefs and bronze plating. The walls of the *dromos* were of coloured marble, ornamented with volutes, and the cornices were covered with blue enamel such as Homer describes.[1]

The Lion Gate, as the oldest architectural monument existing in Greece, and as the prototype of Doric architecture, calls for additional description.[2] The jambs and lintel are each formed of one huge block of stone, above which rears a slim column, tapering downwards and crowned with a flat round capital with a band of spherical ornaments at the neck. Herein may be detected the germ of the Doric capital of later days. The column is flanked by two supporters in the form of lions modelled with considerable accuracy and spirit, the whole forming a heraldic group which seems to be derived from the frequently-recurring Oriental motive of two animals guarding a sacred tree. It is often found on gems of the Mycenaean age, in one case actually with a column between the beasts, and remarkable parallels have been found on the façades of rock-cut tombs in Phrygia, which, as they probably date from the eighth century B.C., seem to be imitations of the Mycenaean design.

Other Mycenaean sites in Greece are Spata and Menidi in Attica, with beehive tombs containing painted pottery, gold and ivories; Orchomenos in Boeotia, with its Treasury of the Minyae, and decoration resembling the beehive tombs of Mycenae; and the recently-excavated cemetery of Phylakopi in Melos, which belongs to the period of the Cretan supremacy.[3] On the other side of the Aegean there are Ialysos in Rhodes, rich in pottery and bronze weapons, and the second and sixth cities of Troy, in the former of which Schliemann found much gold treasure. The wonderful collection of gold ornaments not long ago acquired by the British Museum and generally known as the 'Aegina Treasure' seems to belong to the end of the Mycenaean period, about the tenth century B.C., and shows signs of Oriental influences, with figures from Egyptian mythology (see p. 246). But most of these finds have been surpassed—at least in regard to the

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gold ornaments and pottery—by the British Museum finds at Enkomi in Cyprus,[1] a site which may represent the original settlement of Teucer in the 'New Salamis' after the Trojan War. They include a marvellous and most varied series of gold ornaments, many with *repoussé* designs of an advanced type or rich enamel decoration; ivories with exquisitely-carved figures of animals, and faïence vases in the form of human or animal heads, rivalling the fictile vases of a much later period of Greek art;[2] and an extensive series of painted vases, often decorated with animals and human figures. On the whole these objects seem to be of a comparatively late date.

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Such then, briefly summarised, are the remains which indicate the high level of civilisation and artistic capacity to which this people

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attained, a civilisation which, if it was not Greek in the sense that no direct development or degeneration can be traced between it and the Greece of historic times, yet left its influence in many ways on later Greek art, and thus may even be said to have indirectly bequeathed a heritage to modern times.

A question which, though it has been the subject of academic discussion for some time among scholars, is none the less one of very general interest, is that of the relation of Mycenaean civilisation to that described in Homer, *i.e.* that of the Achaean people as he represents them. It has been noted that in three important points there are very wide discrepancies which have been thought to militate against the generally received theory, but to some extent attempts have been made to reconcile them. Thus we read in Homer that the Achaeans always burned the bodies of their dead, whereas in Mycenaean tombs the evidence always points to burying (inhumation); but it is not impossible that the two customs went on side by side, as, for instance, was often the case in prehistoric Italy. Again, the armour depicted on Mycenaean monuments differs in a marked degree from that worn by Homeric warriors, which, to judge from descriptions, more closely resembled that of early historic Greece. Recent researches, on the other hand, seem to indicate that the Mycenaean warrior wore no armour of metal, only leathern garments, protecting his body with a huge shield.[1] Thirdly, the remarkable details of feminine costume which the monuments reveal, with the flounced 'divided' skirts and attenuated waists (see p. 205), are altogether alien from the flowing robes of the Homeric ladies. On the other hand, there are undoubtedly many close parallels, as indeed we have already seen. The most satisfactory solution of the difficulty seems to be—admitting that the Mycenaean civilisation is to be regarded as Achaean—that the epic poet really reflects two states of society, that of his own day, and that of the period which he describes either from tradition or from imagination.

So far we have been dealing with actual remains of the primitive period found on Greek soil, which throw far more light on the period than any literary record or tradition, even than Homer. But the study of archaeology from this aspect alone tends to become one-sided, and it is always necessary to see—as has been already partially done

[1] See an interesting treatise by Reichel, *Homerische Waffen*, 2nd ed. 1901.

with Homer—to what extent the literary records have been justified by these discoveries.

It has almost become a truism, as a result of modern research in various directions, that all tradition, however mythical in appearance, has a substratum of fact at its basis. In the case of the Greeks there were not only visible remains extant in the historical period which they desired to account for, but found themselves unable; there were also religious rites and ceremonies of a mysterious and sometimes barbarous character. From these two causes arose a legendary history and an elaborate scheme of mythology, by means of which the remains were attributed to mythical persons, and details of ritual were explained. Thus the huge structures of Tiryns and Mycenae were attributed to the giant race of Cyclopes, who came from Lycia and built walls for Proitos of Tiryns and the Pelopidae of Mycenae. Hence this particular form of masonry, with its enormous shapeless blocks, has ever since borne the name of 'Cyclopean.' Stories of such works attributed to gigantic or daemonic agency are common to almost all nations, and familiar to students of Teutonic or Scandinavian mythology. In England we have our 'Devil's Spittlefuls' and Weland Smith's cave.

It was also believed that these fabulous and quasi-supernatural beings were specially skilled in metal work, and hence the Greek stories of the Daktyli in Crete,[1] and the Telchines in Rhodes, who made images of men and animals that moved about the highways. Nor should we forget that one of the Olympian deities, Hephaistos, was pre-eminently a skilled smith and worker in metal, with whom the Cyclopes were specially associated, and that Prometheus, the legendary father of civilisation, was supposed to have discovered the art of modelling human figures in clay.

The first efforts in sculpture were centred round the supposed personality of Daidalos (the word meaning 'a skilled artificer'), whom even the Greeks hardly recognised as a historical personage. Plato and Aristotle speak of him proverbially as a mythical being; and we have already seen (p. 5) that his alleged works were typical of the uncouth earliest remains known to later times.[2] It was also said that he was the first who 'made statues to see and walk,' in the sense that he was the first who achieved the feat of distinguishing the legs from the body and from each other. In the words of an ancient commen-

[1] The name is derived from the five fingers (δάκτυλοι) of the hand, indicating manual skill.

[2] See the collected passages from ancient writers referring to Daidalos in Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 74 ff.

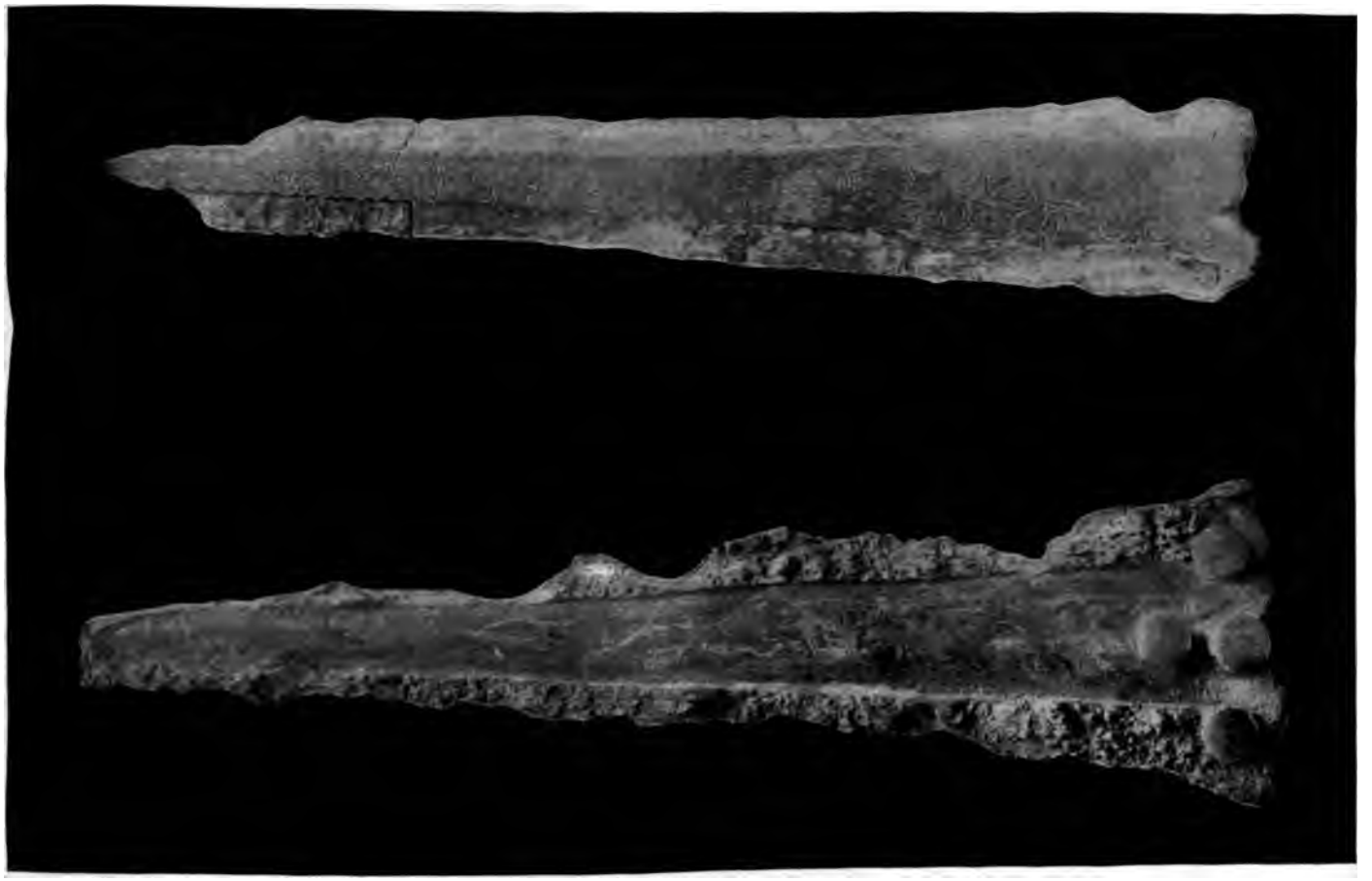
tator, 'whereas the original craftsmen made figures with closed eyes and standing as it were on one foot, the legs not being separated, Daidalos . . . was the first who opened the eyelids, so that they appeared to see, and separated the legs, so that they seemed to walk, and had to be chained up to prevent their running away, because they were now really alive.' We shall see later that this marks a distinct stage in the early development of Greek art. Generally there is a tendency with Greek writers to give rationalistic interpretations of the legends of his marvellous achievements. It has been pointed out by Professor E. Gardner that the name originally belonged to an artificer-god (sometimes identified with Hephaistos), or a magician of superhuman power, skilled, as the name implies, in all kinds of handicraft. In later times he came to be associated exclusively with sculpture, impersonating its primitive efforts. The stories concerning him merely represent the theories of Greek writers on early sculpture, and similarly the early statues were attributed to him as a typical name.

Of Homeric civilisation we have already spoken in one connection; but it is interesting to dwell briefly upon the works of art described or mentioned in the poems, and their bearing upon actual remains. As with the civilisation which they describe, it is no doubt true to a great extent that the accounts are based upon contemporary works of art. On the other hand, some allowance must be made for poetic imagination, and for the possibility that they are describing traditional glories of the past, or at any rate their reflections in the heirlooms preserved to a later time: It is, however, possible with some reservations to utilise the evidence the poems afford for the state of Greek art at the opening of the historic period.

Such works of art fall under three heads: real works, such as architectural remains, sculpture, or implements of peace or war artistically decorated; purely mythical works, like the 'automata' of Hephaistos (*Il.* xviii.), or the golden youths in the palace of Antinoos (*Od.* vi.); and combinations of the real and mythical, like the shield of Achilles. Of the Lion Gate at Mycenae and other Cyclopean remains mentioned by Homer we have already spoken. The houses of gold and bronze, like those of Menelaos and Alkinoos in the *Odyssey*, have counterparts in actual historical fact. There was a bronze house of Athena at Sparta, and the second temple at Delphi and a house at Sikyon were of the same kind. Mention has already been made of the methods of decoration with bronze plates and cornices of blue enamel which find their parallels at Mycenae and



MYCENAEAN PAINTED POTTERY



ENGRAVED DAGGER BLADES FROM MYCENAE
(ATHENS MUSEUM)

gold ornaments and pottery—by the British Museum finds at Enkomi in Cyprus,[1] a site which may represent the original settlement of Teucer in the 'New Salamis' after the Trojan War. They include a marvellous and most varied series of gold ornaments, many with *repoussé* designs of an advanced type or rich enamel decoration; ivories with exquisitely-carved figures of animals, and faïence vases in the form of human or animal heads, rivalling the fictile vases of a much later period of Greek art;[2] and an extensive series of painted vases, often decorated with animals and human figures. On the whole these objects seem to be of a comparatively late date.

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THE LION GATE AT MYCENAE

Orchomenos. Of sculpture in the round there is, curiously enough, no mention, except the statue of Athena at Troy. This was probably not the Palladion, which is unknown to Homer, but was in any case a rude and barbarous cult-image of the form in which the Palladion is always depicted in vase-paintings. Nor is there any mention of engraved gems or painted pottery, though both must have been well-known in those days. But there is more than one description of small but elaborate objects in metal-work, such as the brooch of Odysseus representing a dog killing a fawn, or the shoulder-belt of Herakles, which find analogies both in Oriental art and in the engraved gems and bronze reliefs of early Greece.

The shield of Achilles, described in the eighteenth book of the *Iliad*, is by far the most important work conceived by Homer. In form and general construction it differs in no respect from real objects, and even the decoration must be in some measure a reflection of what the poet had actually seen; but the elaborate composition and the extraordinary number of figures find no real analogy in contemporary art, and we are almost prepared for the mythical element by the circumstances of its supernatural production in the workshop of the god. As regards the scheme of decoration which, as Professor E. Gardner points out, was entirely misunderstood by classical Greeks, by Roman imitators like Virgil, and by the modern artist Flaxman, it has been conclusively demonstrated by Professor Brunn that it consisted of a large central space representing the universe, surrounded by four narrow concentric bands, of which the two inner ones were divided each into six distinct subjects, the two outer depicted respectively a continuous choric dance and the encircling ocean. The inner scenes are all taken from daily life. This arrangement is found on metal bowls of Phoenician workmanship from Cyprus and Italy, which though not older than the sixth century, reflect the style of an earlier age. It would appear that the figures were not in relief, but were inlaid in different metals, as variations of colour are implied. The subjects, it has been pointed out by the late A. S. Murray, all find their parallels on the Phoenician bowls; but even if they are largely borrowed from foreign prototypes, we may well believe that the conceptions of the poet's imagination embodied the truly Greek spirit.

Although in Homer we find such an advanced stage of artistic conception—which is indeed paralleled by other descriptions of works of art, such as the Hesiodic shield of Herakles, and two others shortly

to be discussed—yet there is no doubt that during the period covered by these poems, Greek art, as yet slowly recovering from the upheaval of the Dorian invasion, was in a very rudimentary stage, especially as regards sculpture. In no class of artistic products is this more clearly seen than in the pottery of the age immediately succeeding the Mycenaean, in which the vigorous and lifelike portrayal of animals and plants is replaced by the simple geometrical patterns characteristic of an uncultivated race. Mechanical as these are, they yet show some signs of a taste for symmetry and artistic arrangement, but the animal and human representations which, by an almost universal artistic law, appear in successive stages of development, are for a long time rudimentary and almost childish in their treatment. On the other hand, in the engraved gems found in large numbers in the Greek islands and elsewhere,[1] there is a marked retention of Mycenaean forms and ideas, and indeed they differ little in shape, style, or subjects from those of the earlier civilisation. Among other minor branches of art the figures in bronze and terra-cotta stand on the same level as the sculpture on a larger scale.

The traveller Pausanias has recorded for us a description of two ancient works of art which, though considerably later in date, have generally been regarded as the culmination of the series of great decorative works which began with the shield of Achilles. His descriptions are so full that by comparison with existing monuments we are able to arrive at a tolerably satisfactory restoration in each case, and thus to picture to ourselves the general appearance of what were considered the masterpieces of their time.

These two monuments are the chest of Kypselos and the throne of Apollo at Amyklae.[2] The first-named stood in the Temple of Hera at Olympia, as part of the offerings dedicated by the Kypselid tyrants of Corinth about the beginning of the sixth century, and was the work of artists of that city; there is, however, no reason for connecting it with the chest in which, according to the story, the child Kypselos was hidden. It was constructed of cedar-wood, and the figures were wrought partly in ivory, partly in gold, and partly in the wood itself. The ornamentation occupied either the front of the chest or the front and two sides, the whole being divided into five friezes; of these the two upper and the two lower were divided into groups, each with a different subject, reckoning thirty-two in all. Of these,

[1] See p. 208 and Plate LXXXVIII.

[2] Paus. v. 17-19, iii. 18. Reference should be made to Frazer's *Commentary, ad locc.*

the middle frieze, running the whole length, represented the meeting of two armies; the upper one had only two subjects, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and Herakles' combat with the Centaurs. The remaining subjects were all mythological or personifications of a religious nature; and herein we perceive a great contrast with the earlier shield of Achilles, on which the subjects were all taken from daily life. The figures were identified by means of inscriptions, all of which are recorded by Pausanias, who has left us a description of the monument. A successful restoration of the chest has recently been made on the basis of contemporary Corinthian painted vases (see p. 172),[1] which in nearly every case supplied parallel compositions, thus seeming to verify the tradition. At the same time there are considerable traces of other influence, namely of the schools of Ionia and of Chalcis in Euboea, a city famous for its bronze relief-work.

The throne at Amyklae was constructed and decorated by Bathykles, an artist of Magnesia in Asia Minor, who is supposed to have lived in the time of Croesus (about 560-550 B.C.); but Pausanias' description of this work is much more meagre than that of the chest, and no restoration is possible beyond that of its general arrangement. The statue of the god which surmounted the throne was of a very primitive type, columnar in form, and of colossal size; an idea of it may be gained from a late coin of Sparta. The pedestal and throne were both adorned with reliefs, the latter being also supported by allegorical figures. The subjects of the reliefs were similar in character to those on the chest, and seem to have belonged to the Ionian school of art, as might have been expected from the origin of the artist.

In connection with the early development of Greek art, an important question arises as to the extent of its dependence upon Oriental influences. The tendency at one time was to attribute all early Greek art to Oriental sources, but of late the pendulum has swung in the opposite direction, largely owing to the influence which the Mycenaean discoveries have exercised upon scholars. It is becoming more and more recognised that Mycenaean art did impress its character largely on early Greece, especially on the people of Ionia, who were its chief residuary legatees. But this theory will not account for all the characteristics of its successors.

On one point at least the caution cannot be too strongly impressed upon the casual visitor to a museum, namely, that conclusions must

[1] *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.*, xiv. pl. 1, p. 30 ff.

not be based upon a superficial similarity in the character of all early art. It has been said that 'all children draw Assyrian,' and in the same way the family likeness of all rudimentary art is due to a physiological cause, the universal sameness of human nature. This accounts for the curious resemblance which has been traced between early Greek pottery and that of savage or half-civilised races like the Peruvians or the Kabyles of North Africa. We have already referred to the shrewd observation of a writer on Greek art that the Greeks borrowed the alphabet of art from the East in order to write their own language, just as they borrowed that of writing; and if we investigate this statement more closely we shall see that it denotes the use of a system of conventionalities (just as letters are conventional signs) to express living forms in marble, bronze, and other materials. Let us, then, endeavour to see what use the Greeks did actually make of the lessons they learned from their neighbours.

Of their own indebtedness they were indeed well aware, as their legends and poems attest. Not only is there the familiar story that Kadmos brought the Greek alphabet from Phoenicia, which of course contains a measure of truth, but the numerous allusions to the commercial and artistic ascendency of the Phoenicians point the same way. And we shall see presently that it was largely through a Phoenician medium that they acquired their knowledge of Egyptian and Assyrian art. To take the Homeric poems alone, we read of the silver bowl which Menelaos acquired from the King of Sidon, and the garments of Hecuba, the armour of Agamemnon, and the bowl offered by Achilles as a prize for racing, all came from similar sources, while many of the treasures in the palace of Menelaos were collected by him during his sojourn in Egypt. But all such evidence when weighed in the balance will not suffice to prove that Greek art was purely adventitious and external in its beginnings; all that it goes to show is that the Oriental nations came to their maturity at an earlier date, while Greece was still, so to speak, in the cradle, and necessarily dependent on outside sources for what she could not as yet produce for herself.

Egyptian art, it is now generally recognised, goes back to an extraordinarily remote age, extending up to 4000 B.C. and even earlier, and moreover its earliest remains display a marvellous capacity for rendering natural forms, and a technical skill almost impossible for us to comprehend. It was thus full-grown and self-contained long before the first crude essays of the Greeks, long even before the time of the wonderful

achievements of Crete, which in all probability owe much to the commercial relations of that island with the Egypt of the first few dynasties. But this early art was banished from Egypt by the invading Hyksos dynasties, and was replaced in due course by a new phase, one in which fixed principles of proportion and design were established, but naturalism altogether gave place to conventionality. This was the period of the Ramses and other kings who produced the colossal sculptural and architectural monuments which represent the height of Egyptian power and magnificence. It coincides with the later Mycenaean period in Greece, and although there is, as we have seen, evidence of importations in both directions, it cannot be said that Mycenaean art reflects the character of Egyptian except in isolated instances. It is not indeed until the twenty-sixth dynasty, under the great Psammetichus (664-610 B.C.) and his successor Amasis that the relations of Egypt and Greece assume a historical character. But this is a time when Greek art had emerged from the primitive stage and was well on its way to full development. Egyptian art of the seventh century was, however, of a refined and delicate character, more like that of the earliest dynasties, and its perfected technique and elaborate system of conventionalities, by means of which difficulties were overcome, did not come too late to supply the now rising art of Greek sculpture with the required 'alphabet.' By this time the Greek artist had no lack of ideas, but he was still at a loss how to express them. In other chapters we shall deal more in detail with the influence of Egypt on other arts, such as gem-engraving and architecture.

With the other great Oriental nation, Assyria, relations were, if not so direct, of a similar kind. Assyrian art was always highly developed in its own line, manifested principally in the magnificent reliefs of Nimrud and Kouyunjik (Nineveh). From a high degree of skill, however, it degenerated into mere conventionality, devoid of naturalism and feeling. This conventionality was extended in an unusual degree to organic life, as—to cite an instance—in the purely formal treatment of curls of hair or features. In this way it tended to influence Greek art of the archaic period. Again, the Greeks were largely indebted to Assyria for the subjects of their decorative art, if not for their technical methods. The lions, horses, and fantastic winged monsters of the Assyrian reliefs, and the ornamentation of textile embroideries provided many models which the Greeks were ready to adopt, and which became popular themes of decoration. As in Egypt, historical relations between the two countries can scarcely

have taken place earlier than the time of Sargon (eighth century B.C.), and even then they were hardly direct.

The people who acted as intermediaries seem to have been the geographically intervening race of the Phoenicians, whose art, it must be remembered, was not a source but a channel of influence. Their works of art were made for purely commercial purposes, and are found in many other parts of the Mediterranean, in Rhodes, Cyprus, Sardinia, and Etruria, but not in Phoenicia itself. Further, such genuine products of Phoenician art are all of late date, not earlier than the seventh century B.C., and they are distinguished by their curious combination, without blending, of Assyrian and Egyptian elements. Their influence is strongest in Cyprus during the period 800-500 B.C., especially in the sculpture and many of the terra-cotta figures of that island; but Cypriote art always preserved some measure of independence, and is not at any time purely Phoenician. Moreover, that element prevails almost exclusively on certain sites, such as Kition, Golgoi, and Tamassos. We have seen that the Homeric poems, and especially the *Odyssey*, throw light on the dealings of Phoenician traders with Greece, and doubtless they had settlements in various parts of the Aegean, as is seen, for instance, at Kameiros in Rhodes, in the finds of glass vessels and faïence objects, which the Greeks sometimes imitated. But the rapid rise of Greek commerce in the seventh and sixth centuries drove the Phoenicians from the Aegean, and with their withdrawal to the Western Mediterranean they are lost sight of altogether.[1]

The result of this extension of Greek commerce is that artistic communities spring up in all parts of the Mediterranean, each with its own school of art. In Cyprus, in Asia Minor, in Sicily, at Naukratis in Egypt, and at Cyrene on the north coast of Africa, as in less important centres, the same features of independent centres for the production or collection of objects of art are to be observed, not less than in the chief towns and islands of Greece proper. The history of Greek art in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. is the history of the gradual coalescence of the different schools and their final absorption under the growing power and all-pervading influence of Athens.

[1] See generally for this section E. A. Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, i. p. 45 ff.

CHAPTER III

GREEK ARCHITECTURE

Pre-historic architecture—Palaces at Tiryns and Knossos—The beginnings of the temple—The Doric style and its characteristics—Typical Doric temples—The Parthenon—Methods of construction—The Ionic style—Temples at Athens and in Asia Minor—The Corinthian style—Secular buildings.

GREEK architecture, like sculpture, owed its development chiefly to religion; its history is therefore largely the history of the development of the Greek temple. But the earliest buildings of which we have any knowledge are secular rather than religious in character. For these we must go back to the Mycenaean period, in which we see the first rudiments of architectural ideas; even the rude 'Cyclopean' masonry of those prehistoric buildings at Mycenae and Tiryns is not without its importance as a subject for study. These structures have already been described in some detail, and it is only necessary to make a passing reference to them. In the Lion Gate of Mycenae we see the prototype of the Doric column, and in the 'Treasury of Atreus' the first attempt at vaulted or arched construction as yet known; the same may also be said of the galleries at Tiryns, which are virtually an arched passage, but are not so advanced in construction as the beehive tombs.

Many other ancient walls remaining in Greece were known as Pelasgian, and so far show an advance on the Cyclopean masonry that the blocks are first of all carefully fitted into one another while retaining their irregular form, and finally arranged in parallel straight courses. This method is widely spread over the Mediterranean, and as a matter of fact lasted well into historic times.

Next, we have the construction of the Homeric house to consider, and its connection with the palace discovered at Tiryns; that of Knossos belongs to such a far remoter epoch that it can hardly be used for purposes of comparison. These two are, together with the scantier remains of palaces at Mycenae and Troy (the sixth city),

almost the only examples preserved to us of early Greek domestic architecture. It is generally agreed that the ground-plan—which is of course all that remains—of the Tiryns palace has preserved for us, though perhaps in a more elaborate form, the typical features of Homer's descriptions (see Fig. 1).

The buildings of Tiryns composed a mere citadel, occupying the whole summit of a low rock, which rises out of the plain, overlooking the bay of Nauplia. Their plan is further regulated by the shape of the rock, with a strong wall dividing the middle, so that if one part were taken the other might still be defended. The portion most open to attack contained the quarters of the guards and the stables, the other formed the palace. The walls are of great thickness, with chambers cut in them, and there was one principal entrance, the approach to which was well exposed to fire from inside; the blocks of masonry are not jointed, but the interstices are filled in with smaller stones embedded in clay. Provision was made in the tower-gateway for storing water, which could also be fetched through a postern, and there were also arrangements for collecting rain-water and draining it into cisterns.

From the tower-gateway a passage led to the outer courtyard, below which are the remarkable galleries, cut in the rock and lighted by lateral apertures, which were used as storehouses; their roofs are formed by horizontal and gradually overlapping layers of projecting stones.[1] The inner courtyard was reached by a gateway or *propylaeum*, which resembles in plan that of the Athenian Acropolis (see p. 42), and had projecting porticos with two columns on each side; another similar gateway led into the *aule*, in which was the altar of Zeus Herkeios ('of the enclosure'), as we read in the account of the palace of Odysseus. It was not a structural altar, but a mere slab of stone, in which a hole was sunk leading to a pit below, serving as an ashpit. Round the *aule* was a sort of cloister known as the *aithousa*, to which Homer applies the epithet of 'echoing.' On the north side of the *aule* were the various domestic apartments, beginning with a porch and vestibule (*prodomos*), which led to the *megaron* or Men's Room, a square apartment, in the centre of which was the hearth; the roof was supported by four pillars. The men's sleeping apartments were to the left of this, quite apart from the chambers for women and married people; the former contained a bath-room, which had a floor formed by one large slab.[2]

[1] See Plate IX.

[2] See Fig. 1 for these details.



GALLERIES IN THE PALACE AT TIRYNS



THE TEMPLE OF POSEIDON AT PAESTUM

THE PALACE AT TIRYNS

The essential points of similarity between Tiryns and the Homeric palace are the *aule*, the columned vestibule leading to the inner part, the *megaron* or principal sitting-room with its central hearth, and the complete isolation—in accordance with Oriental ideas—of the women's apartments. Clearly the mode of life in Greece in the days of Homer largely resembled the feudal system of the Middle Ages: the baronial castle or palace, in which the chieftain and his retainers

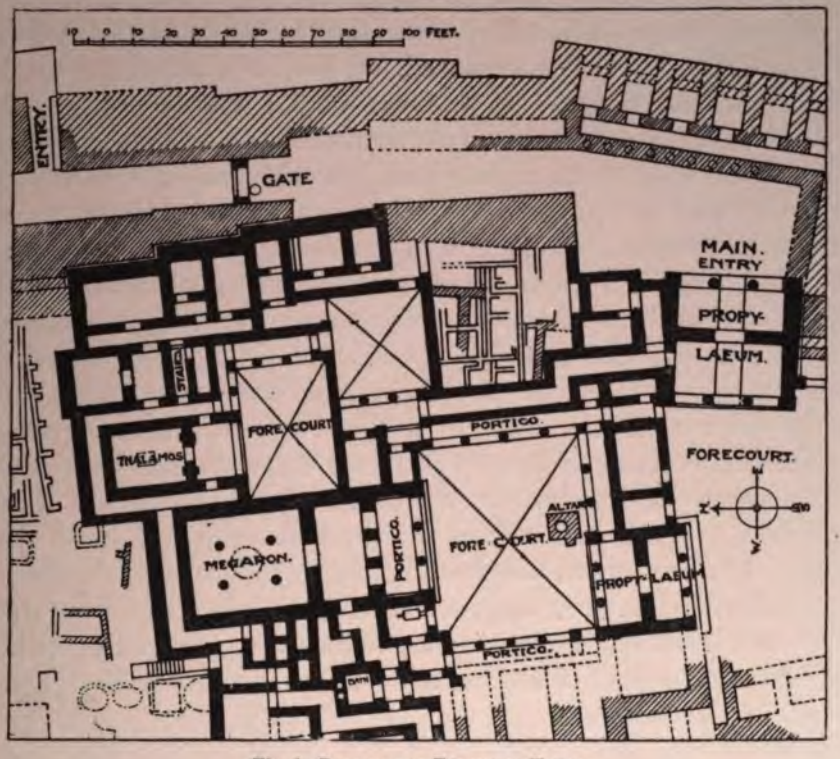


Fig. 1. Plan of the Palace at Tiryns.

lived a common life, surrounded by mean buildings (of which at Tiryns nothing has been preserved), inhabited by the menial classes or serving as shelter for flocks and herds. Architecture was purely domestic, and temples and public buildings were practically unknown.[1]

The methods of construction and ornament used in this palace also deserve some attention. The walls were of unburnt brick on a low plinth of stone, a method which prevailed for some time in Greek

[1] For some recent views in regard to the arrangements of the Homeric house, especially the palace of Odysseus, reference should be made to *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.*, xx. p. 128, xxi. p. 293, and xxiii. p. 325; also Noack's *Homerische Paläste.*

architecture, as will be noted later (p. 34), and wooden construction was also largely employed, chiefly for columns and interior details. The floors show the first rude beginnings of mosaic, being made of concrete, the pebbles in which are worked into simple patterns. The doorways were lined with wood, and the columns were sheathed with gilt bronze; the walls were ornamented with similar bronze plating laid on wood, or else stuccoed over, and some of the floors, as in the women's court, seem to have been painted.

It is, however, probable that when the results of the excavations at Knossos in Crete, recently completed, are properly estimated, our knowledge of architecture in the Mycenaean period will be not only largely increased but in a measure revolutionised. The palace which has recently been brought to light,[1] and probably represents the world-famed Labyrinth or palace of the semi-mythical Minos, is of vast extent, and surpasses even Tiryns in importance. It has been shown to consist of no less than three stories, with countless ramifying passages and chambers, staircases, store-rooms, and magazines, from the great throne-room downwards. And that even ordinary domestic architecture was highly advanced in the sixteenth century B.C. is shown by the recent discovery of a sort of faïence mosaic, composed of models of dwellings of two or three stories, with doors and windows after the manner of a suburban villa. But it is impossible at present to concede to these marvellous discoveries more than a passing mention. Allusion must, however, be made to one remarkable feature of the Knossian palace, the extraordinarily developed system of drainage and sanitary contrivances, which are certainly without a parallel in the ancient world, and by no means to be regarded with contempt in the modern.

Before discussing the history of Greek architecture in the historical period, a few general remarks on construction may not be out of place. The oldest kind of masonry, down to the Homeric age, was that known by the Greeks as Cyclopean or Pelasgian. It is seen in the walls of Tiryns and Mycenae, and on the Acropolis at Athens, and consists of large rough blocks of stone, not fitted together, but bedded in clay mixed with straw, the cavities being filled in with small stones, often stuccoed over. The next stage is that of Polygonal masonry, consisting of large blocks of irregular and varied form, but carefully fitted and jointed together, without mortar, clay, or clamps of metal. At

[1] See *British School Annual*, 1899-1904 (vols. vi.-x.) for full details.

Delphi there are walls of 540 B.C., built of blocks with curved outlines, yet these are fitted as carefully as the straight ones. This style is found at Eryx in Sicily, in Etruria, and all over Greece; it extends from about 900 B.C. down to the sixth century, and is found even as late as 500 in the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus. In the best classical period all building was of squared stones laid in level courses, but these were not necessarily of uniform height; the technical term was *emplekton* or *isodomon*, except when the courses varied in height (*pseudisodomon*). Metal clamps were always employed, but the blocks are so well fitted together that they appear superfluous.

The principle of the arch, as known to the Romans and to ourselves, was entirely unknown in Greece. Yet there are not wanting constructive forms which produce the same effect in a different way. How this was achieved at Mycenae and Tiryns we have already seen. The same principle, of courses of stone projecting inward as they rise, is found at Eryx in Sicily, but in one case the uppermost stones have been hollowed out in a curve, so as to form between them a semi-circular opening. In a very ancient gateway at Delos a straight-sided arch is produced by means of two flat slabs laid together at an obtuse angle. A further advance is made in a building at Abydos, which is the earliest instance of the genuine arch-principle. Here the *voussoirs* are ranged at intervals, the gaps being filled in with small stones. Elsewhere the round head of the arch is filled in with stones so as to form a square-headed doorway.

Greek architecture, like all other branches of Greek art, is in the main of native growth, but in this as in everything else, the Greeks were quick to seize whatever they found useful in the art of other nations. They never borrowed wholesale, but where they saw that a thing was good, they never hesitated to use it and invest it with their own peculiar genius. Thus it is evident that the idea of a column with base and capital is an Egyptian one, but the fantastic varieties of Egyptian capitals did not appeal to them, and as we know they limited themselves strictly to three forms. But the Ionic capital may be seen in the germ in Assyrian as well as in Egyptian art, and other details, such as the fluting of columns and the use of vegetable ornament may be traced to an Oriental origin. In the development of the temple as an edifice connected with religious worship and ceremonial they paid but little attention to foreign models, unless Cyprus may be cited as an exception, where the Phoenician element was undoubtedly strong,

as in the great temple of Aphrodite at Paphos, with its peculiarly un-Greek plan. But the ordinary Greek idea of a peripteral temple had no prototype either in pre-Hellenic or Oriental architecture. Greek architecture then was neither a mere adaptation nor a sudden invention; the elements of its forms had always been latent in the race, with its tendency to architectonic decoration, and these were gradually developed and perfected by their creative genius.

In the development of the Greek temple we may observe four distinct stages. The earliest, which is characteristic of the Mycenaean period, is that of the open-air altar, of which we have instances at Mycenae, Tiryns (in the palace fore-court) and Troy. Homer, it is true, speaks of the temple of Pallas at Troy, and of the 'stone threshold' at Delphi, but here the poet is blending a later element with the Mycenaean. At this altar the father of the family, or chief of the tribe, offered sacrifice.

Next, we find buildings in the form of very small stone cells, with a roof of overhanging stones, in which the same principle of a rudimentary vault that was noted at Mycenae and Tiryns is maintained. One example of this method of building remains in an almost perfect state, on Mount Ocha in Euboea. The temple has an opening in the centre of the roof, towards which the stones gradually slope forward as they rise, thus forming the vault; it is also supplied with a door and two windows in the front.

Thirdly, there is the method of building alluded to in describing the palace at Tiryns, in which the walls are built of unburnt brick on a plinth of stone, the columns and roof being of wood. The traveller Pausanias in his description of the temple of Hera at Olympia, noted that it was constructed in this fashion, and his statement has been established by excavations. The tiles and other external decorations were of terra-cotta, a very favourite material for this purpose with the Greeks, which remained in favour down to quite late times. The original stone plinth of the Hera temple is still standing, but the columns are gone. Pausanias, however, tells us that as they decayed, they had been replaced by columns of stone, and that only one wooden column existed in his day. Dr. Dörpfeld, one of the chief authorities on ancient architecture, dates this temple about 1000 B.C.

Lastly, we come to the period when stone was employed throughout as the material for the main construction, terra-cotta being restricted to tiles and other smaller details. The earliest of these buildings are

in the style of architecture known as Doric, but in Asia Minor the Ionic style can claim an almost equally early origin.

The various kinds of temples in the Doric style are defined and described for us by Vitruvius the architect, who lived in the time of Augustus, and his classification still serves. Roughly speaking, a Greek temple consists of three parts, the interior chamber or *cella*, the vestibule or porch, and the outer colonnade, and the distinction between the different classes rests on the number and arrangement of the exterior columns. The simplest form of temple, without any columns except two forming the entrance to the vestibule, with square pilasters terminating the side walls, is known as *in antis* (Fig. 2). The next stage was to place a row of four columns along the front, and this was known as *prostyle* (Fig. 3). When the row of four columns was

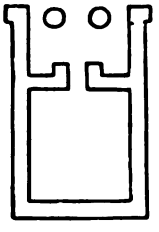


Fig. 2. In Antis.

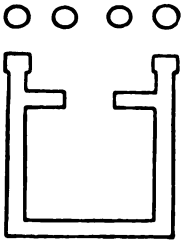


Fig. 3. Prostyle.

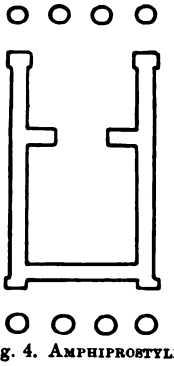


Fig. 4. Amphiprostyle.

repeated at the back, the temple was called *amphiprostyle*, or 'with columns in front at either end' (Fig. 4). The next advance was to place a row of columns along each side in addition, and thus the temple was completely surrounded with columns, or *peripteral* (Fig. 5). An additional row of columns all round made the temple *dipteral* or 'double winged' (Fig. 6), or if, as sometimes happened, the inner row was then omitted, it was called *pseudo-dipteral*. A rare variety of the peripteral temple was known as *pseudo-peripteral* (Fig. 7), the columns at the sides not standing free but being 'engaged' along the walls, projecting from them to the extent of a semi-circle. An example of this type (the plan of which is that reproduced in Fig. 7) is the great temple of Zeus at Agrigentum in Sicily.

Peripteral temples were also classified according to the number of columns on the front, as *tetrastyle* (only occurring in the prostyle variety), *hexastyle*, *octostyle*, and so on. It is indeed obvious that no

peripteral temple can have less than six columns at front and back; equally, no dipteral or pseudo-dipteral can have less than eight. It was also a rule that the number of side-columns was never less than double the number on the front. No examples of dipteral temples in the Doric style are known, but they are added here for the sake of completeness. Abnormal buildings are also found in the Doric style, such as the temple at Paestum known as the Basilica, which is double, with nine columns on the front and a dividing row down the middle, or the Hall of the Mystics at Eleusis, which had twelve columns on the front only. The commonest form of Doric temple

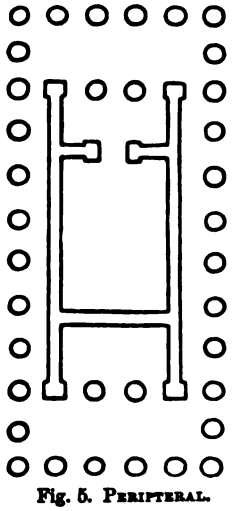


Fig. 5. Peripteral.

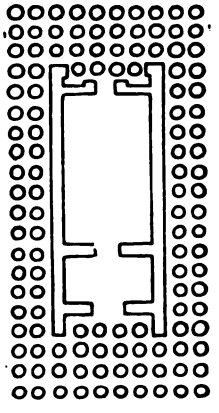


Fig. 6. Dipteral.

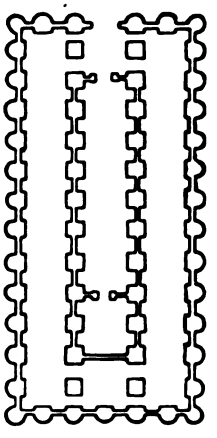


Fig. 7. Pseudoperipteral.

is hexastyle peripteral, but the Parthenon, the most perfect product of the style, is octostyle.

Remains of Doric temples are found all over Greece and the Western Mediterranean, and there is one instance in Asia Minor, at Assos. The following list, which is roughly chronological, may be found useful:—

I.—SICILY AND ITALY[1]

Syracuse (Ortygia),	Temple of Apollo,	Hexastyle,	580-570 B.C.
Do.	Olympieion,	Hexastyle.	
Selinus,	Temple C,	Hexastyle.	
Do.	Temple D,	Hexastyle,	570-550 B.C.

[1] On the temples included in the foregoing list, and others of which only little remains, see Koldewey and Puchstein, *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, 1899, whence most of the above details are taken.

EXISTING DORIC TEMPLES

I.—SICILY AND ITALY—*continued.*

Paestum,	Basilica,	Enneastyle.	
Selinus,	Temple F,	Hexastyle,	550-540 B.C.
Pompeii,		Heptastyle pseudo-dipt.	
Selinus,	Temple G,	Octostyle pseudo-dipt.,	540-510 B.C.
Paestum,	Temple of Demeter,	Hexastyle.	
Agrigentum,	Temple of Herakles,	Hexastyle,	510-500 B.C.
Selinus,	Temple A,	Hexastyle,	500-480 B.C.
Do.	Temple E,	Hexastyle.	
Do.	Temple O,	Hexastyle.	
Agrigentum,	Temple of Zeus Olympios,	Heptastyle pseudo-peript.,	480-440 B.C.
Do.	Temple of Hera,	Hexastyle.	
Paestum,	Temple of Poseidon,	Hexastyle,	440-430 B.C.
Segesta,		Hexastyle,	430-420 B.C.
Syracuse,	Temple of Athena (Cathedral),	Hexastyle,	420-400 B.C.
Agrigentum,	Temple of Concord,	Hexastyle.	
Do.	Temple of Dioscuri,	Hexastyle,	340-330 B.C.
Do.	Temple of Hephaistos,	Hexastyle	
Selinus,	Temple B,	Prostyle,	240-200 B.C.
Paestum,		Hexastyle; no columns at back; Corinthian caps. used,	200-150 B.C.

[There are also remains of Doric temples at Gela, Himera, and elsewhere in Sicily; and at Tarentum, Metapontum, Rhegium, and Kroton in Magna Graecia.]

II.—GREECE.

Olympia,	Heraion,	Hexastyle,	Tenth century B.C.
Corinth,		Hexastyle,	650-600 B.C.
Corcyra,		Hexastyle,	600-500 B.C.
Athens,	Old Temple on Acropolis,	Hexastyle,	560 B.C.
Delphi,	Temple of Apollo,	Hexastyle,	550-500 B.C.
Aegina,	Temple of Aphaia,	Hexastyle,	540 B.C.
Assos (Asia Minor),	Temple of Athena,	Hexastyle,	470 B.C.
Olympia,	Temple of Zeus,	Hexastyle,	470-457 B.C.
Athens,	Theseion (so-called),	Hexastyle,	465 B.C.
Rhamnus (Attica),	Temple of Nemesis,	Hexastyle,	450 B.C.
Do.	Temple of Themis,	*In antis*,	450-400 B.C.
Athens,	Parthenon,	Octostyle,	450-438 B.C.
Sunium (Attica),	Temple of Poseidon (?),	Hexastyle,	440 B.C.
Phigaleia (Arcadia),	Temple of Apollo,	Hexastyle,	440 B.C.
Eleusis,	Hall of Mystics,	Dodecastyle prostyle,	440 B.C.
Argos,	Heraion,	Hexastyle,	420 B.C.
Tegea (Arcadia),	Temple of Athena Alea,	Hexastyle,	390 B.C.
Delos,	Temple of Apollo,	Hexastyle,	Third century B.C.

Of the earlier temple at Syracuse only two columns are left, standing very close together, the intercolumniation being less than their diameter. The columns *in antis* have bases, the others rest on square plinths; they are somewhat stumpy, and the echinus of the capital has a very marked curve. The columns of the later temple are now built into the cathedral. Cicero tells us that Verres picked the gold and ivory ornamentation off the doors,[1] and we know that on the pediments were gold shields as landmarks for sailors. The early temple at Corinth is in little better preservation than the first-named, only seven columns still standing, with part of the entablature. It had fifteen side-columns and two distinct *cellae*; the proportions are exceedingly massive, and there are other signs of great archaism.

The temples of Sicily and Italy are, as a rule, larger and finer in plan, if not in details, than those of Greece, and Selinus is no exception in this respect. Here we find remains of no less than eight temples, ranging (with one exception) from about 580 to 480 B.C.; the city was destroyed in 409 B.C., which gives a lower limit of date. Four (A-D) stand on the Acropolis, one (O) close by, and three (E-G) in the plain below, in the Agora. In Chapter v. some description will be given of the interesting sculptured metopes belonging to three of these temples (p. 77). The three on the Acropolis have a very narrow cella, and the number of side-columns exceeds double the number on the front by no less than seven. The temple lettered G, that of Zeus, was never completed; at one end it is *in antis*, without end-columns, and the cella has three almost equal aisles. The columns diminish greatly in proportion to their size, and are only fluted at one end. Some of the mouldings are archaistic in character. The temple at Segesta stands almost intact, except that the cella is gone; the columns are not fluted, and the projections by means of which the drums were placed in position have not been removed. Of the other Sicilian temples, those at Agrigentum are of great interest. The one known as the Temple of Concord is very perfect, and has staircases and doors leading on to the roof. The earliest, that of Zeus, is a very remarkable building, though now in ruins, both from its curious plan, its abnormal size, and the huge figures of giants which support the inner columns of the cella. The fact that a man can stand within one of the flutings of the columns will perhaps give some idea of the colossal scale on which it is built.

Of the temples at Paestum, one, that of Poseidon,[2] still remains in

[1] *In Verrem*, iv. 56.

[2] See for a general view Plate x.

a nearly perfect state, even to the row of upper columns inside the cella. It dates from about 440 B.C., and measures 200 by 79 feet along the bottom step; it has fourteen side-columns, about seven feet in diameter. Many of the architectural details and optical corrections are of great interest. Of the others, one is in a sort of debased style, with greatly exaggerated *entasis* (see p. 43) in the columns; the double cella in the Basilica, to which allusion has already been made, is probably evidence of its having been consecrated to two distinct divinities.

Turning now to the temples of Greece proper, we find in that at Aegina the most typical, because normal, example of a Greek temple. It is in fairly good preservation, and chiefly remarkable for the sculptured decoration of the pediments, now removed to Munich, which will be described in Chapter v. Recent excavations (1901) have added to our knowledge of the temple and its surroundings, and have established, by means of an inscription, its dedication to the goddess Aphaia. It is built of a yellowish limestone, except the roof and the sculpture, which were of marble. Equally celebrated for its sculpture decoration was the great temple of Zeus at Olympia, of which, however, nothing remains standing: it was only excavated some twenty-five years ago. It was built by the Eleians, with Libon as architect, on a stylobate of poros-stone measuring 210 by 86 feet. Of the architectural fragments discovered in excavation, the well-designed capitals are most noteworthy; the pavement of the cella, in black limestone and white marble, has also been preserved, together with marble roof-tiles. It was, of course, specially celebrated in antiquity as containing the great chryselephantine statue of Olympian Zeus (p. 97), which stood at the western end of the cella.

Among the other temples of the Peloponnesos, that of Apollo at Phigaleia—or more accurately, Bassae—is of the chief importance.[1] It lies in a wild and magnificent situation in a remote corner of Arcadia, and was built about 435 B.C., by Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon. The plan is decidedly curious; and a further peculiarity is that it lies north and south instead of east and west. As it was considered appropriate that the rays of the rising sun should strike upon the cult-statue of the Sun-god, this was placed against the west wall, and a door in the east wall immediately opposite admitted the light upon it. The peculiarity of the plan is that the inner columns of the cella are united to the sides by cross-

[1] See Plate xi.



THE "THESEION" AT ATHENS

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[1] See Plate XI.

walls throughout, forming a row of chambers like the side-chapels of a cathedral, which were probably used for storing offerings. These columns were of the Ionic order of architecture, with capitals of an archaic type (see p. 46), but the rest of the temple was Doric. The sculptured frieze, which is described elsewhere (p. 112) ran round the inside of the cella, the greater part of which was open to the air, but the part over the statue was roofed in. The peculiarities of design seem to be due to the temple being built on the site of an older shrine. The temple at the neighbouring site of Tegea is chiefly remarkable as the latest example of the Doric style in Greece; apparently only the outer colonnade was in this order of architecture, the rest being in the two later styles; but this only rests on the statement of Pausanias, which has not been confirmed by the excavations.

Lastly, we come to the two great temples of Athens, one famous for the perfect condition in which it has been preserved, the other for its past glories, as the centre of Athenian worship and the abiding-place of the masterpieces of Athenian sculpture which are described in Chapter VI. The former, the so-called Theseion,[1] is, like the temple at Aegina, a good example of the normal type of Doric temple. Its real name is quite uncertain, as is also the date of its erection, though we know that the building called the Theseion by ancient writers was erected to receive the bones of Theseus by Kimon about 469 B.C. Except for a few alterations made on its conversion into a Christian church, it stands complete as in the time of Pericles, but for the loss of the colouring and other embellishments of Greek temples. It is built of a fine yellow Pentelic marble, on a stylobate of two steps. The sculptured decoration included pedimental groups (now lost), a frieze running round the cella, and a series of metopes at the east end; these are described in Chapter VI.

Although deviating in some points from the normal type, the Parthenon is by far the most beautiful and interesting of all existing Greek temples.[2] It was built to replace the older temple of Athena which was burnt down at the time of the Persian invasion, and was completed in 438 B.C., the architects being Iktinos and Kallikrates. The sculptured decoration was under the general supervision of Pheidias. It was of Pentelic marble throughout, and measured 228 by 101 feet, more than double the dimensions of the Theseion. The building consists of a cella divided into two chambers, the smaller

[1] See Plate XII.

[2] See Plate XIII. The plan is given in Fig. 8.

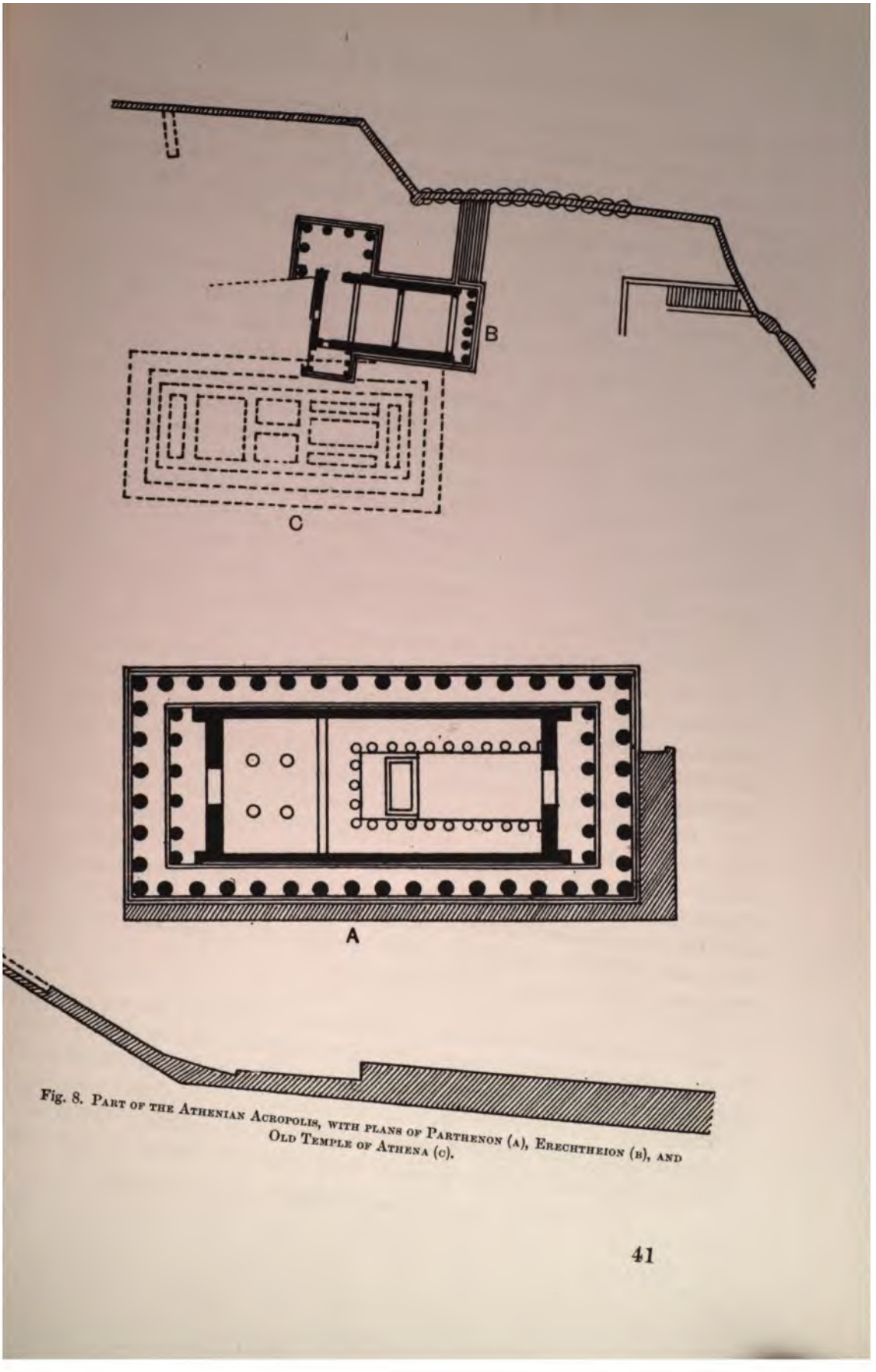


Fig. 8. Part of the Athenian Acropolis, with plans of Parthenon (A), Erechtheion (B), and Old Temple of Athena (C).

known as the *opisthodomos* or Parthenon proper, containing sacred vessels, vestments and furniture. The main portion of the cella, 100 feet in length, was called the *naos hekatompedos*, and this contained the great statue of Athena by Pheidias, facing towards the eastern doorway. The surrounding columns numbered eight at the ends and seventeen at the sides.

The present condition of the Parthenon is familiar even to those who have not been privileged to visit the building itself; it may at all events be realised from the model in the Elgin Room of the British Museum.[1] Up to the year 1687 it remained almost intact, except for alterations made by the Emperor Constantine in A.D. 330, in order to convert it into a Christian church. In the above year Athens was bombarded by the Venetians, and the Turks, who were then occupying the city, stored their powder inside it; a bomb from the Venetians fell into the middle, with the result that a large part of the middle of the building was destroyed. In 1801-3 the sculptures were saved from further destruction by the wise and liberal Lord Elgin, who carried them off to England to their safe resting-place in the British Museum.

The Propylaea or gateway of the Acropolis was erected by Pericles about 435 B.C. to replace a smaller one, Mnesikles being the architect: It consists of a double Doric portico, the outer and inner entrances connected by a row of six Ionic columns. As originally planned it should have had a wing on either side, but only that on the north, the Pinakotheke or Picture Gallery, was actually completed. Its present condition is remarkably perfect.

A sacred building of abnormal character is the σηκὸς μυστικός or Court of the Initiated at Eleusis, where the mysteries were performed. It was built by Iktinos about 440 B.C., and consists of a square hall, the roof of which was supported by forty-two Doric columns; on the south was a portico of later date. The foundations and plan of this building were brought to light by the Greek Archaeological Society some years ago.

The older temples of Greece are built entirely of stone, except so far as painted terra-cotta is used for tiles, cornices, and such like decorations, but with the increased quarrying of marble, the use of the latter became more and more extended. At first only the columns, sculpture, or roof-tiles were of marble, as at Aegina and Phigaleia; finally it was used throughout. There is also in the later temples a tendency to

[1] There is also one in the Royal Scottish Museum at Edinburgh.



THE PARTHENON WESTERN FAÇADE



THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKE, ACROPOLIS, ATHENS

mix the styles, as we have seen at Phigaleia and Tegea; even in the Parthenon Ionic columns were used to support the roof of the *opisthodomos*. Colouring was generally and extensively employed, especially for the ornamental patterns on the mouldings, the palmette, maeander, wave-moulding, egg-and-dart, and acanthus all being rendered in bright red and blue, picked out with gold. Care was taken in the distribution of the ornament that curved surfaces should receive curvilinear patterns, flat surfaces rectilinear.

Comparatively little moulding was employed about Doric buildings, as compared with the Ionic and Corinthian styles; they consist indeed mainly of plain surfaces with painted ornament, whereas the other two orders consist of moulded surfaces with carved ornament. The principal mouldings used in Doric architecture may be observed in the adjoining diagram of the entablature (Fig. 9); the *torus* and *scotia* (see p. 46), being purely base-mouldings, are not found in this style, as the columns never have bases.

Certain points may also be noted which characterise the Doric style, and allow of ascertaining differences of date. Thus the intercolumniation, or distance between the columns, is usually very narrow; the columns are at first short in proportion, diminishing upwards in a very marked degree, but become gradually slimmer and straighter; the cella is proportionately narrow, and the echinus, or cushion-like top of the column spreads out widely at first, but tends to become less heavy. The Doric column never has a base until late and decadent times. As a rule monoliths are preferred when possible.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the construction of a Doric temple is the use of *Optical Corrections*, a principle which we find difficult to realise, but one necessitated by the clearness and brilliancy of the Mediterranean atmosphere, which tends to give false impressions of lines and curves to the eye. Thus it was discovered that if a column was designed with a straight line from cap to base, the profile against the sky appeared concave, as if eaten away, and it was necessary to counteract this by constructing it with a more or less convex outline. In some temples, such as the oldest at Paestum, this bulge, known as *entasis*, is very marked, even at first sight. Again, all horizontal lines are really curves, slightly convex on the upper surface, in order (for instance) to prevent any appearance of sagging which might be caused by heavy monoliths lying on the tops of columns.

Thirdly, the columns are so arranged that their axes slope inwards at right angles to the sides, except the angle-columns, which bisect the

angles at the corners. It has been calculated that the axes of the Parthenon columns, which are inclined one foot in 150, would meet at

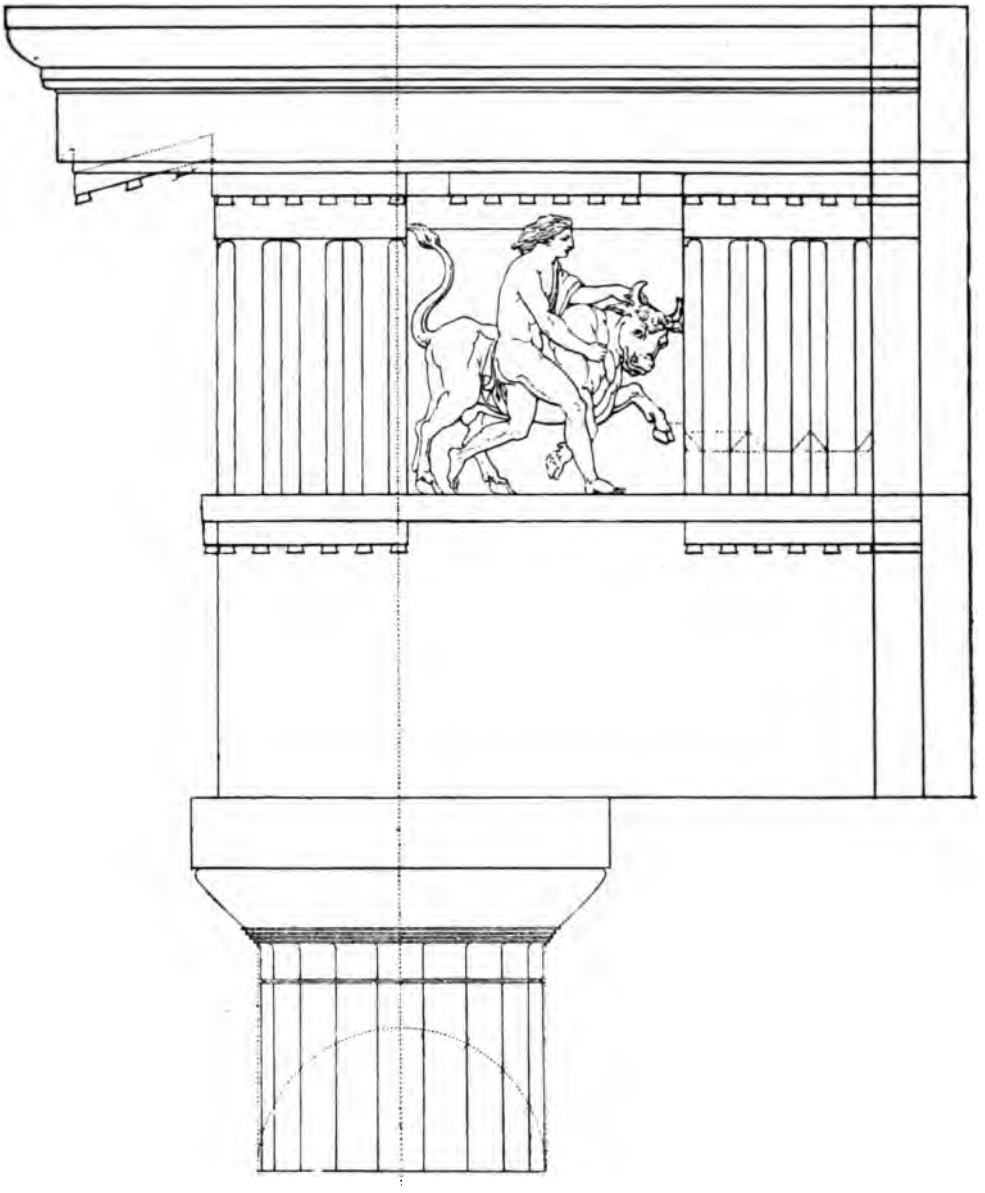


Fig. 9. Diagram of Doric Entablature (from the Theseion).

a height of 5856 feet. The effect of this is to impart an appearance of stability to the building. Further, the angle-columns are made thicker than the others, because otherwise they would *look* smaller, being

against the bright background of the sky, than those against the dark background of the building. It is obvious that when these and other adjustments had to be taken into consideration, the cutting of the marble became a very complicated affair. Another difficulty was that of getting the metopes approximately of equal size; the alternate triglyphs being placed exactly over the centre of the columns, there would be spaces left over at the ends. This was compensated for by lessening the intercolumniation at the angles.

It has generally been supposed, and probably rightly, that the Doric style is derived from architecture in wood. We have already seen that wood was used for columns at Tiryns and Olympia, and for a long time roofs must have been largely constructed of wood, with terra-cotta roof-tiles. The derivation of architectural members from wooden prototypes is to be observed in other countries, as in Egypt, where the pillars are copied from bundles of reeds tied together, or from palm-trees, and the same is seen in Assyria and Persia. So in the Doric style the fluting of the columns represents the striated surface of a tree-trunk, the mouldings at the top the metal bands which were placed round the wood to prevent its splitting, and the gabled roof represents the ordinary type of wooden roof with tie-beams and rafters. In this case the triglyphs represent the ends of the rafters with the tie-beam between, to which each pair was nailed, and the metopes are the spaces in between (as the meaning of the word implies). These latter were afterwards filled in, as were the ends of the gables, and covered with sculptured or painted decoration.

The Ionic style presents in many respects an interesting contrast to the Doric. Vitruvius aptly compares its proportions to those of a woman, the Doric to those of a man. Not only is it lighter and more graceful, but it is also richer and less severe than Doric, reflecting the characteristics of the more luxurious Ionian races of Asia Minor, to whom it owes its introduction into Greece. Like the Doric style, it probably owes much to Oriental influence, and its prototypes may be seen in the columns of Persepolis, with their volute capitals, and elsewhere in the East. There is no evidence of an origin from wooden architecture. Though always at home in Asia Minor, it never became popular in Greece, and only isolated examples have been found before the middle of the fifth century. That it was used in one of the old temples on the Athenian Acropolis earlier than 480 B.C. has been shown by recent excavations, and there was also

a small temple at Athens on the banks of the Ilissos, the scanty remains of which seem to show a transition from one style to the other.

As regards the main points of difference from the Doric style, the most notable is the absence of the triglyphs and metopes, their place being taken by a plain continuous frieze, usually sculptured. The architrave is always broken up into three *fasciae* or sloping bands, one over the other; the columns are smaller and taller in proportion, and optical corrections are mostly disregarded; the intercolumniation is wider, and the slope of the pediment steeper. The columns invariably have bases, of which there are two main varieties: the Attic, consisting of a hollow (*skotia*) between two projections (*tori*), and the Ionian, which is moulded with curious horizontal flutings. The flutings of the columns are divided by fillets.[1]

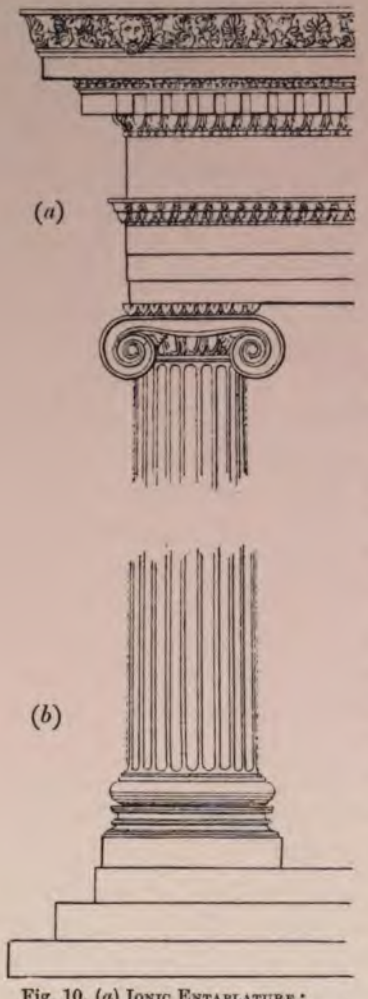


Fig. 10. (*a*) Ionic Entablature; (*b*) Ionic Base (Asiatic Type).

The main feature, however, which distinguishes this from the two other orders of Greek architecture is the capital with its volutes. It appears to be derived from a floral termination to a column, the volutes representing curling leaves or sepals of a calyx on either side. These volutes were always very carefully designed, with mathematical accuracy, the centre or 'eye' being cut out and filled with gilt bronze or precious stones. By an ingenious device the corner volutes at the angles of the temples are bent forward, in order to get one on each side of the angle and avoid the side-view of the capital. In some of the earlier examples of Ionic capitals, represented by the row of columns inside the temple at Phigaleia, the top line between the volutes is not curved downwards as usual, but arched in convex form. The space in between the volutes is generally filled in with what is known as the egg-moulding, very sharply and deeply under-cut.

[1] See Fig. 10 for details.

LIST OF IONIC TEMPLES

As with the Doric temples, we give here a list of the principal remains of Ionic architecture on Greek soil:—

	I.—ATTICA.		
Athens,	Old Temple on Acropolis,	Remains of Ionic capitals found,	560 B.C.
	Temple on the Ilissos,	Tetrastyle prostyle,	About 470 B.C.
	Temple of Athena Nike,	Tetrastyle prostyle,	About 450 B.C.
	Erechtheion,	Abnormal,	430-400 B.C.
	Propylaea,	Six inner columns,	437-432 B.C.
	II.—ARCADIA.		
Phigaleia,	Temple of Apollo,	Columns of Cella,	430 B.C.
Tegea,	Temple of Athena Alea,	Doubtful,	390-370 B.C.
	III.—ASIA MINOR.		
Ephesus,	Older Temple of Artemis,		About 560 B.C.
Sardis,	Temple of Cybele,	Octostyle,	About 500 B.C.
Xanthos,	Nereid Monument,	Tetrastyle,	About 400 B.C.
Troad,	Temple of Apollo Smintheus,	Octostyle pseudo-dipt.,	400-350 B.C.
Samos,	Temple of Hera,	Decastyle dipteral,	350-320 B.C.
Magnesia,	Temple of Artemis,	Hexastyle pseudo-dipt.,	350-320 B.C.
Teos,	Temple of Dionysos,	Hexastyle pseudo-dipt.,	350-320 B.C.
Priene,	Temple of Athena,	Hexastyle,	350-320 B.C.
Halikarnassos,	Mausoleum,		350-340 B.C.
Branchidae,	Temple of Apollo Milesios,	Decastyle dipteral,	340 B.C.
Ephesus,	Temple of Artemis,	Octostyle,	330-320 B.C.
	IV.—ITALY.		
Locri,	Old Temple of Persephone,	Hexastyle,	580-570 B.C.
Do.	New do.	Heptastyle,	500-480 B.C.

Two of the most beautiful examples of Ionic architecture are the temple of Athena Nike (formerly called Wingless Victory), and the Erechtheion or temple of Athena Polias and Erechtheus, both on the Acropolis of Athens.[1] The former is the earlier of the two, and was probably built about the middle of the fifth century B.C., commemorating the victories of the Athenians in the Persian wars. It is a very small building, with room for little besides the statue of the goddess,

[1] See Plates XIV., XV.

but is exquisitely proportioned; it consists of a cella with open front and four columns at either end. It was destroyed by the Turks in 1687, but enough remained to admit of its reconstruction. Some of the sculptured friezes were carried off by Lord Elgin, and are now in the British Museum; but the beautiful figures of Victories on the stone balustrade in front of the temple, dating from a later period, are preserved in the adjoining Acropolis Museum.

The Erechtheion represents the perfection of the Ionic style, though its form is unique.[1] It is practically a double temple, consisting of a cella divided into two portions, sacred respectively to Athena Polias and Erechtheus, with an eastern portico of six columns, and two large porches, each with six columns, on the north and south. The latter is the famous porch of the Caryatides,[2] which is familiar to Londoners from the copy of it attached to St. Pancras Church. The six columns, placed on a high plinth or stylobate, are in the form of maidens (the Caryatides) supporting moulded capitals on their heads, on which rests an entablature. One of these is now in the British Museum,[3] and has been replaced by a terra-cotta copy. Round the main building was a frieze in white marble on a black marble background, and the entablature throughout is richly decorated with various patterns. An interesting inscription of 409 B.C. gives the details of the decorative work of the temple and its cost, and another of the same date, preserved in the British Museum, shows that it was then still unfinished. Sir Charles Newton says of the former: 'It records, item by item, the expenses of building the Erechtheion, and . . . contains a statement of the sums actually paid for the sculptural decorations, with the names of the artists by whom they were executed.'

Some of the Ionic buildings of Asia Minor were of great renown in antiquity, and two of them, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, ranked among the wonders of the world. The temples of Apollo at Miletus and Athena at Priene were also of great magnificence. All these, as the list shows, are later in date than those of Athens, and belong to the latter half of the fourth century; but the remains of the earlier temple at Ephesus, which contained Croesus' column (p. 78) were also in this style, as may be seen from the remarkable capital from this temple now restored at the British Museum. A comparison of this capital (in the Archaic Room

[1] See plan in Fig. 8.

[2] So called from a Greek legend of the city of Carya.

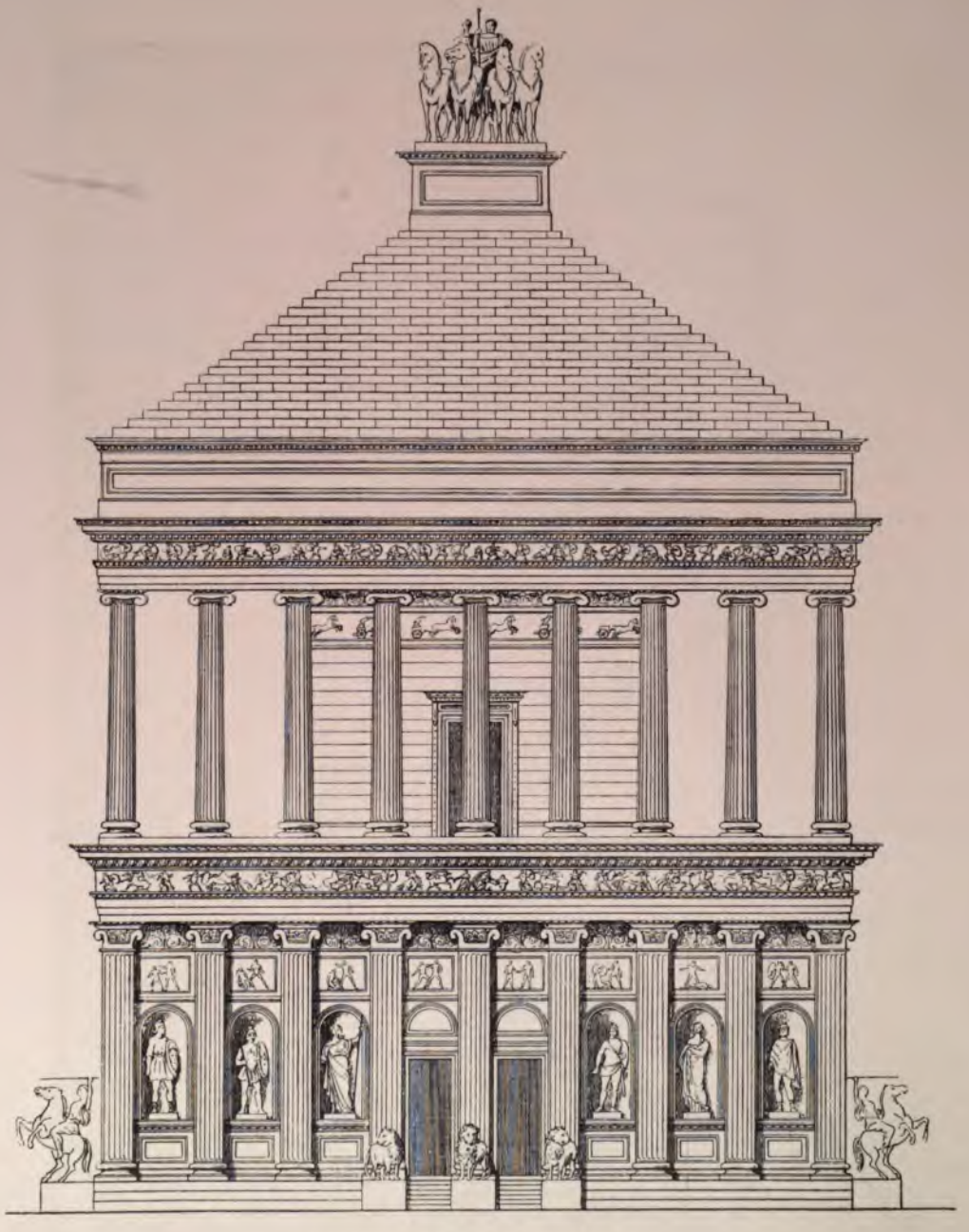
[3] See Plate xxxviii.

of the Museum) with one of those from the later temple in the Ephesus Room will clearly show the difference brought about in this style in the course of two hundred years. Strictly speaking, there were three temples built on this site, the first by Theodoros of Samos about 650 B.C., the second by Chersiphron and Metagenes (550-520 B.C.), and the third about 350 B.C., after the destruction of the second by fire on the night when Alexander the Great was born.

The remarkable feature of the third temple was the arrangement of the columns on the façade, in two rows, the lower row coming down on to the steps in front; they stand on huge square bases ornamented with sculpture, and the lowest drums of the columns are also ornamented with sculptured reliefs. The dimensions of the temple were 342 by 163 feet, or at the base of the steps, 418 by 240, and the columns are no less than six feet in diameter. The temple of Apollo at Miletus was slightly larger, but not so richly decorated; it was built by Paionios of Ephesus about 350 B.C. Both temples are now entirely in ruins, but considerable remains of the former were excavated in 1867-1872 by Mr. J. T. Wood, and are now in the British Museum, where, as far as possible, they have been restored.

The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos, as is well known, was a monument built in honour of Mausolos, satrap of Caria, by his wife Artemisia, about 350 B.C. The architect's name was Pythis or Pythios, and it seems to have remained almost perfect until the sixteenth century. It was excavated by Sir Charles Newton in 1857, and almost all the existing remains are in the British Museum.

Although a long account of this building has been left us by Pliny, and so much of its architectural detail has been recovered, it has always been a subject of great controversy, and its exact form has not so far been definitely ascertained. Pliny's description is not very lucid, but all are agreed that it consisted of a square colonnaded edifice on a high base or *podium*, surmounted by a stepped pyramid, on the summit of which stood a four-horse chariot. In the chariot (or according to some authorities, in the lower part of the building) stood two colossal figures of Mausolos (Plate XLVIII.) and Artemisia (or a goddess); these have been well preserved, and the former may be regarded as a slightly idealised portrait of the ruler whom the building commemorates. The total height was about 125 feet, the main portion measuring 180 feet each way. It was ornamented with three sculptured friezes, two of which were on the *podium*, together with figures of lions and other sculptures. The details of workmanship are of a higher order than is



THE MAUSOLEUM, HALIKARNASSOS

(RESTORATION BY PETERSEN)

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the case with most Ionian temples, almost rivalling the Parthenon. The arrangement of the columns and entablature of the central portion may be well seen from a restoration in the British Museum.[1]

The Corinthian style came into existence about the beginning of the fourth century. There is no apparent reason for the name, but it may have been given on account of the luxuriant and highly ornamented character of the capitals, Corinth being proverbial in antiquity for its wealth and luxury. In general arrangement the order differs little from the Ionic, except for the capitals, which are divided into three tiers of equal height, each tier composed of small volutes (*cauliculi*). At each corner a larger one supported the abacus, which was in the form of a concave-sided square, but all the real weight rested on the centre. Vitruvius tells us that the idea of this beautiful capital was suggested to the sculptor Kallimachos by the sight of a basket on which a tile had been placed, underneath which an acanthus plant had grown out of the basket. But this style was never much used in Greece, and was more popular with the Romans.

The earliest example of Corinthian is in a single column at Phigaleia, inside the temple,[2] and it was also used in the mixed temple at Tegea, and for the inner row of columns in the Tholos at Epidauros, a beautiful circular building of the fourth century connected with the local cult of Asklepios. But the finest building in this style is the Choragic Monument of Lysikrates in the Street of Tripods at Athens, just under the Acropolis.[3] It was intended to support a prize tripod won in a dramatic contest, in which Lysikrates had supplied the chorus, and still remains almost in its entirety. It is a circular structure with six engaged columns round it, but the capitals have only two rows of leaves, showing them to be of an early type. On the architrave is an inscription referring to the circumstances of its erection, from which the date can be ascertained as 335 B.C. Above this is a frieze on which is sculptured the subject of Dionysos turning into dolphins the pirates who attacked his ship. The roof of the dome imitated overlapping leaves or scales. Lord Byron is said to have used this building as a study.

Near to this monument stand some columns of another, but much later example of the style, the magnificent temple of Olympian Zeus.

[1] The restoration given in Plate XVI. is by Professor Petersen of Rome.

[2] This is disputed by some authorities, who regard it as a later restoration. See Frazer, *Pausanias*, iv. p. 398.

[3] See Plate XVII.



THE CHORAGIC MONUMENT OF LYSIKRATES, ATHENS



THE THEATRE OF DIONYSOS, ATHENS

It was begun by Peisistratos about 530 B.C., but not continued until 174 B.C. under Antiochus Epiphanes, a Roman named Cossutius being the architect. It was finally completed by the Emperor Hadrian, and was an octostyle dipteral building, 365 by 146 feet in area, surrounded by no less than 104 columns in all. In its scale and decoration it must have rivalled the great temples of Asia Minor.

With regard to the chronology of the three great orders of Greek architecture, it must be borne in mind that, as Professor Freeman pointed out, they did not succeed each other chronologically like the various developments of Gothic architecture, each exclusively representing a certain period. As we have seen, all three orders might be employed in a single building, and the choice of one or the other was partly a matter of mere preference, partly the result of local usages, as in the Ionic style of Asia Minor. Further, we must remember that Doric was the architecture of Greece *par excellence*, as well as of Magna Graecia and Sicily; Ionic was the architecture of Asia Minor, and was only exotic at Athens, non-existent in the West[1] until Roman times. Corinthian architecture is really Roman rather than Greek, and in Hellenic times is only found in use for small buildings or portions of larger ones; the same applies to Ionic in Greece, which only occurs on anything like a large scale in the Erechtheion.

The buildings which have been discussed in this brief survey of Greek architecture are almost exclusively temples, or otherwise associated with religious ceremonial or beliefs. It might have been possible, did space permit, to give some account of others which claim equal title to architectural merit, such as the magnificent theatres of Athens, Epidauros, and Megalopolis, which have been so admirably preserved.[2] Secondly, there are the remains of secular buildings excavated at Olympia and Delphi: the treasuries of the Athenians and other states or cities, which though small were often adorned with fine sculptures; the *stadia* and other erections devoted to athletic pursuits; and other structures of less importance. There are also such buildings as the Tower of the Winds at Athens, and the great council-hall at Megalopolis, known as the Thersilion, or the magnificent erections of Attalos at Pergamon, including the altar of Zeus, which is described in another chapter (p. 131). But the Greeks did not, as a rule, lavish their supreme efforts on their secular buildings; even in the

[1] The only exception is at Locri (see p. 47).

[2] Plate XVIII. gives a view of the great Dionysiac theatre under the Acropolis of Athens.

Agorae, or central meeting-places of their cities, they aimed at no more elaborate effect than was achieved by a simple colonnade. Their domestic buildings were even less pretentious, with no attempt at outward show, and remind us that they lived an out-door life for the most part. Few Greek houses, indeed, have been preserved, and those which have been unearthed—at Athens and the Peiraieus, Delos and Priene—are of a very simple character.[1] The only one known of any size is the palace at Palatitza in Macedonia, a semi-barbaric erection of about 350 B.C. The plan is not unlike that of the ordinary Roman house.[2] The type of house in all these cases, with rooms round a courtyard, agrees more or less with the description of a Greek house given by Vitruvius. But the temple must be regarded as the typical Greek building, both for its architectural arrangements and for its associations with the daily life of the people, to whom their religion was of such all-embracing importance.

[1] Demosthenes, inveighing against the self-aggrandisement of his own day, exclaims: 'Then indeed public life was lived in luxury and splendour, and no man vaunted his superiority as a private citizen. The houses of Themistocles, Miltiades, and other celebrities were not a whit finer than the rest, whereas the public buildings and public property reached a height of grandeur never since surpassed' (*In Aristocr.* 207).

[2] See Laloux, *Architecture grecque*, p. 245.

CHAPTER IV

GREEK SCULPTURE: INTRODUCTORY

Literary records of Greek Sculpture—Monumental evidence—Lost and existing sculptures—Originals, copies, and imitations—Materials employed—Wood, gold and ivory, and marble—Models and tools—Polishing and colouring—Reliefs—Technical processes in bronze.

WE have seen in our preliminary chapter what an important part sculpture played in the history of Greek art and it is hoped that no apology will be needed for the large proportion of space that is devoted to it in the present work. The history of Greek Sculpture is—in a sense—the history of Greek art, including as it does the various forms of the plastic art in every material, marble, clay, and bronze. Excluding for the moment coins and engraved gems, it is obvious that nearly every product of Greek art partakes of the characteristics of either Sculpture or Painting. The former includes statues, busts, figurines, and relief-work in stone, metal, or clay; the latter, frescoes and other kinds of pictures, painted vases, and minor arts in which the graphic element is pre-eminent, such as engraved work in metal, and mosaics. Seeing then that with the exception of the painted vases, nearly all the remains of Greek pictorial art have perished, whereas we possess a fairly complete connected series of their plastic productions, it is hardly surprising that the treatment of this latter branch of art should demand such a preponderance of space.

In this introductory chapter to the subject it will be found convenient to treat of it in its general aspects, dealing with such questions as the sources of our knowledge, the use of material and technical processes; in the three following chapters the sculptors and their works will be discussed from the historical point of view.

Our knowledge of Greek Sculpture is derived from two sources: literary records and traditions, and existing monuments. Of the

former there are first of all works on the principles of sculpture, histories of artists, and descriptions of works of art; secondly, allusions to the subject in writings not directly concerned therewith, of more or less scientific value. Unfortunately, of the former class almost everything has perished, and all that we do possess is in the form of late compilations of the time of the Roman Empire. We know, however, that the sculptor Polykleitos wrote a work on bodily proportions which he termed the 'Canon,' and that another artist, Euphranor, wrote on colouring and proportion; he was both sculptor and painter. About 300 B.C. the sculptor Xenokrates wrote a treatise on art, historical and theoretical; and this, though now lost, formed the basis of the elder Pliny's writings, as he himself tells us. The latter writer also made use of compilations by Antigonus of Carystus, Duris of Samos, and the Roman antiquary Varro. There was also Polemo (about 200 B.C.), who gave a full description of the temples of Greece and their contents. Of existing writings there are only the books dealing with art (xxxiv.-xxxvi.) of Pliny's *Natural History* and the *Description of Greece* by Pausanias, the Baedeker of antiquity.

As Pliny himself admits, by giving a list of his authorities, his work is only a compilation without professing originality. In many ways invaluable to us, it must often be used with great caution, owing to his obvious ignorance of the early period of Greek art and his evident misunderstandings of his sources.[1] But his lists of artists and their works in marble and bronze, and some of his technical information, supply us with a fund of information for which we cannot be sufficiently grateful. Pausanias' work is of a different kind, and even more valuable. Written in the second century of our era, it contains a full account of all the buildings then existing in Greece and the treasures that they still contained, as well as much miscellaneous information. He was an enthusiast for antiquity, and his laudable taste for the archaic caused him to note many things that from a merely artistic point of view would naturally have been ignored.

The only trustworthy art-critic of antiquity was Lucian, who had been trained as a sculptor, and was therefore qualified to pose as an expert; but his allusions to works of art are comparatively rare. Some of his criticisms, however, are very instructive. Similar, if less trustworthy, judgments of ancient sculptors are found in the writings of Quintilian and Cicero, and information of a more

[1] A recent German writer speaks of Pliny as a mere 'paste-and-scissors' compiler.

or less direct kind in passages from Plutarch and other less-known writers.

Secondly, there is the monumental evidence, *i.e.* that afforded by the numerous statues and reliefs preserved in our museums and private collections, or, in the case of architectural sculptures, still forming part of the ancient buildings. We may glean from the pages of Pausanias some idea of the marvellous wealth of sculpture which even in his day adorned Greek temples and other public buildings, but the extent to which this art was employed by the Greeks is somewhat difficult to realise in modern days. Not only is the scope of plastic art so much restricted at the present day, but the actual remains that we do possess form such an infinitesimally small proportion of the original total. Any one of such sites as the Acropolis of Athens, Olympia, or Delphi would, if preserved in its original condition, supply us with an amount of material equal to that now available from all sources; and such material would, moreover, consist almost entirely of the original masterpieces which are now so rare.

Many causes contributed to the disappearance of these great collections. The process of disintegration began with the depredations of the Roman conqueror Mummius in B.C. 146, when Corinth was sacked, and from that time onwards it became the fashion to carry off works of art to decorate the buildings and public places of Rome. The bronze statues recently dredged up off the island of Kythera (p. 136) are thought to have formed part of the loot of Sulla in 83 B.C., the ship containing them having been wrecked on its homeward voyage. Many sculptures have also been dredged up from the bed of the Tiber at Rome. When Byzantium subsequently became the capital of the Roman Empire the process of removal was renewed, and even such treasures as the statue of Athena Parthenos from the Parthenon were conveyed away to adorn the new centre of civilisation. Then came the period of barbarian invasions, which combined with the utilitarian tendencies of ignorant nations like the Turks to destroy all such works as could be turned to other more profitable uses. Bronze and the more precious metals naturally tempted the spoiler by their intrinsic value, and marble was, and has been continuously down to the present day, seized upon whenever it was found convenient for converting into mortar or building material. To the latter fact indeed it has often owed its preservation, especially in the case of *stelae* (tombstones) or inscribed bases, which were

by their form well suited to be used in buildings. Even the Greeks of classical times were not guiltless in this respect, for Thucydides[1] tells us that *stelae* from tombs and cut stones of all kinds were used for the building of the Long Walls of Athens under Themistocles.

Of the remains of sculpture existing at the present day the great majority have been buried either deliberately or by chance, and brought to light by excavation. The magnificent series of archaic works yielded by the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens in 1882-1889 had all been buried among the *débris* caused by the sack of the Persians in B.C. 480, on the top of which the new buildings of the Kimonian and Periclean periods were erected. This was a fortunate circumstance in more than one respect, not only as ensuring their preservation, but as affording a limit for their date in one direction. On other sites, as at Olympia, the burial of the works of art was more accidental, and due to natural causes, such as overthrow by earthquakes and the subsequent covering-over with soil that accumulated year by year. On the other hand, buildings like the Parthenon and Theseion at Athens, and some of the temples in Italy and Sicily, have stood with varying fortune through the vicissitudes of centuries, preserving their sculptured decoration more or less intact.

Until recent years the majority of our sculptures had been found on Italian soil; some even, like the Pasquino head, the group of horse-tamers on the Monte Cavallo at Rome, and the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Capitol had always been preserved above ground; and these were nearly all of late date, or only copies of original works. But the excavations of the nineteenth century have added enormously to our material, and revolutionised the knowledge of ancient art by the systematic exploration of sites in Greece and Asia Minor and the disinterment of genuine original masterpieces. These it has generally been possible to identify from the circumstances of their discovery, especially in the case of architectural sculpture or temple statues, which have been described by ancient writers such as Pausanias. It is, for instance, due to him that we can identify with absolute certainty two of the greatest finds of recent years, the Hermes of Praxiteles and the Nike of Paionios, as well as the sculptures of Olympia and Tegea.

Most of these works are now collected in the museums of Greece, and

[1] i. 93.

the great European collections are mostly made up of sculptures found in Italy, about which we have no direct information. Some indeed may be originals, transported from Greece in Roman times; but the great majority are copies or imitations of well-known works, which, from that very circumstance, are apt to mislead us if we endeavour to rehabilitate from them the masters from whose creations they are derived. For instance, some artists, like Polykleitos and Lysippos, worked chiefly or entirely in bronze, but were largely copied in marble, which necessarily entails deviations from the appearance of the originals. Bronze statues, from the intrinsic value of the material, were naturally short-lived, and the modern preponderance of works in marble does not of course in any way correspond to the state of affairs in ancient Greece.

Another point which has to be taken into consideration is that many of these statues have been subjected to restoration, chiefly by Italian artists, and these restorations are not always obvious at first sight, because they are not confined to supplying missing limbs or features, but the whole surface of the marble, antique or modern, is often worked over in a most misleading manner, in order to obtain a uniform effect. It is only in recent years that this reprehensible practice has been discouraged.

Ancient works of sculpture may then be classified under three heads: Originals, Copies, and Imitations. The first class includes statues shown by satisfactory evidence to be from the hand of a master, such as the Hermes of Praxiteles; architectural sculptures known to be by a master, or produced under his immediate direction, such as those of the Parthenon and the temple of Zeus at Olympia; works which from peculiarities of type or style can be attributed to some particular period or school, such as those of the great altar at Pergamon; and minor works, such as the Attic sepulchral reliefs, which, though the work of humble craftsmen, yet reflect the artistic spirit of higher creations.

In dealing with copies the idiosyncrasy of the copyist becomes a factor to be reckoned with, and also the difference that exists between copies made at a good period by Greek artists, and the mechanical 'shop-wares' of Roman origin. In the former there is more attempt to reproduce the spirit and general feeling of the original than to follow details with accuracy; this was beyond the powers of the later workman. Yet this difference is not without its advantages, for if the earlier copy is more informing in regard

to the general style of the original artist, the later is often exceedingly valuable to us, because it preserves the original type in accurate detail. Thus the Varvakeion statuette (p. 97), which is artistically an inferior piece of work of very late date, is more important than any other copy of the great Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, because it reproduces details which are absent in the others.

Imitations as distinguished from copies are works which reproduce the general character of some particular school rather than single conceptions. They include a whole class of sculptures which are known as archaistic, being attempts to reproduce the character of early works which attracted by their delicacy and refinement in the same way that early Italian painting attracted the Pre-Raphaelites of the nineteenth century. Having at first sight the appearance of genuine archaic products, these statues may usually be detected by some misunderstanding or exaggeration of detail. It was a comparatively easy matter for a sculptor to reproduce the zigzag folds of the conventional archaic draperies, but such small details as the typical archaic treatment of the eye were liable to escape him. The archaising tendency was one always present in Greek art from quite early times, but for a long time it was confined to the minor branches, such as terra-cotta statuettes, or certain classes of vases and coins, the reason in these cases being exclusively a religious one. So, too, purely decorative sculpture often retains a wholly conventional character.

A valuable source of information for the history of sculpture is often provided by inscriptions, such as artists' signatures. Of these a considerable number have been preserved, and they are useful for comparison with literary records of names. It has been noted that in the earliest and latest periods the names derived from inscriptions do not usually correspond with the recorded names; but in the fifth and fourth centuries the coincidence is fairly close. Artists' signatures were almost always placed on the bases, not on the statues themselves, so that it is not often possible to connect them with existing works, and many of the reputed connections have been doubted at different times, as in the case of the Nike of Archermos (p. 75) and the Aphrodite of Melos (p. 134). There are, however, descriptive inscriptions, like that found on the base of the Nike of Paionios at Olympia, which are important as recording dates and circumstances of erection as well as artists' names.

Lastly, there is the evidence of minor works of art. In coins

and gems, in bronze statuettes, and more rarely in terra-cotta figures and on painted vases, we find many undoubted reproductions of well-known works, often indeed rough and on a diminutive scale, but still most valuable. Our knowledge of the great Zeus of Pheidias at Olympia is largely derived from a reproduction of the type on the coins of Elis; and in other cases such works help to identify those actually preserved.

The materials employed by the Greeks for their statuary were practically three in number: wood, marble, and bronze. Small statuettes were occasionally made in silver or gold, and figures in terra-cotta, faïence, and the like, also come under the heading of sculpture. But small bronzes and terra-cottas are more fittingly dealt with as separate subjects, and in the chapters devoted to the minor branches of art some account of the technical processes employed and cognate questions will be found; in the present section we propose to deal only with the higher forms of plastic art.

That wood was a common material for statues in primitive times is attested in many ways,[1] although we have of course no wooden statues remaining from classic sites. It was naturally adopted as an easily-obtained and easily-worked material. Pausanias frequently mentions early statues of wood; and if the famous wooden horse of Troy is not to be regarded in a serious light, there is, at any rate, the carved cedar-wood chest of Kypselos (see p. 24), with its series of sculptured reliefs inlaid with gold and ivory. The word used for early cult-images in any material is *xoanon*, which is derived from a word meaning 'to hew,' and the form which some of the existing early specimens of sculpture take, the body of the figure resembling a roughly-hewn tree-trunk, also indicates the original use of this material.[2] In later times wood continued to be used, even for the finest statues, either with the addition of marble for the nude portions, such as face, hands, or feet, or with these parts carved in ivory, the wood being overlaid with gold plating for the drapery. In the former case the statues were called 'acrolithic' (with stone extremities), in the latter 'chryselephantine' (of gold and ivory). The famous statue of Athena by Pheidias was made in the latter method, as was also that of Zeus at Olympia. Some useful information about the technique of these statues may be gathered from the account given of a

[1] Egyptian statues in wood have been found reaching back as far as the Fourth Dynasty (3700 B.C.).

[2] Cf., for instance, the Samos statue, Plate XIX.

statue of Zeus at Megara designed by Theokosmos, but never finished owing to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war in B.C. 431. The head only was completed in gold and ivory, and the rest was finished off in clay and plaster; but the wooden framework intended for the complete statue, to be covered with gold and ivory, was also preserved. The clay and plaster substitute was probably the model originally made for the whole work.[1]

As regards technical methods in wood we have not much information. The later developments seem to have been extremely complicated affairs, and the colossal size of the great statues, such as those just mentioned, implies an elaborate construction in the form of a skeleton framework to support the great weight of the limbs and attributes. They appear to have been made from full-sized models in clay.

Statues in stone were generally, though not exclusively, of marble. In Cyprus, at Naukratis in Egypt, and elsewhere where marble was not available, the local limestone or alabaster was usually preferred. At Athens the primitive sculptures found on the Acropolis are all of a local *poros*-stone, which was also much used for buildings. But the mainland and islands of Greece were extraordinarily rich in marbles of a very superior kind, which were far more beautiful and effective in sculpture than any of the Italian marbles used in Roman times and in modern days. It is only when we see such a statue as the Hermes of Praxiteles or the Aphrodite of Melos, or even when we stand before the less fortunate Elgin marbles in the murky atmosphere of Bloomsbury that we can gain a satisfactory idea of the superiority of Greek marble with its exquisite intonations of light and shade, and soft warm colouring, as compared with the cold unvarying whiteness of that obtained from the quarries of Luna and Carrara.

The most beautiful Greek marble was the Parian, from the quarries of the island of Paros; in earlier times it had a formidable rival in that of its neighbour Naxos, but it continued the favourite for many centuries. At Athens there were two local varieties, the bluish marble of Hymettus, only used in earlier times, and the marble of Pentelicus, which first began to be used in the fifth century. The latter, which assumes an exquisite golden hue (resulting from the presence of iron), was used for the Parthenon, and, in fact, almost invariably by Attic sculptors. But the Hermes of Praxiteles is in Parian. All these marbles were more or less white, but black was occasionally used, as in

[1] See Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 18, 307; Pausanias, i. 40, 4.

the frieze of the Erechtheion; it was not until Roman times that the fashion arose of working in richly-coloured marbles like those of North Africa.

The methods for working marble for statues are best illustrated, as Professor Ernest Gardner has shown,[1] by a series of unfinished works in the museum at Athens. One of these has been merely rough-hewn with a pointed tool, and is remarkable for its square shape, showing that the sculptor has set to work by sketching out the front and side views of the figure on a block and proceeded to cut them through. To this, as Professor Gardner points out, is due the square appearance of many archaic statues, such as the primitive 'Apollo' types (p. 76), though it may also be partly the result of convention or of want of confidence which prevented the artist from altering the original square form of the block. In the other statues, which are of later date, there are indications of the processes and tools employed—notably, that the artist worked free-hand, without the use of pointing, trusting entirely to his eye to reproduce the clay model before him. It is possible to trace out all the stages from the first roughing out of the general outline, till, by means of various tools and increasing care in the working, the final form is attained.

It does not appear that the use of models was invariable in antiquity. The modern sculptor, of course, always employs a careful model, and even Michael Angelo's attempts to dispense with one were not unattended with risk. But it is remarked as a peculiarity of the sculptor Pasiteles, who lived in the first century B.C., that he always used a model.[2] Pasiteles was originally a τορευτής, or chaser in silver, for which purpose he was obliged to use models; hence the practice would be a familiar one to him.[3] The avoidance of models is only partially accounted for by the great skill and constant practice of the ancient sculptors; but it may also be partly due to the fact that they did not necessarily, like modern artists, carve their figures out of one piece. Hence there was less risk of mistake in the preliminary carving out of the statue. Models, when used, were of clay, and were known as *proplasmata*. They were either made by hand or on a wooden core (*kanabos*) which was formed by two rods in the shape of a cross, whence the Latin word was *crux*.

From this clay model a mould was made, and from that a plaster cast; and then came the process known as 'pointing.' The ancient

[1] *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, xi. p. 129 ff. [2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 156, and cf. *ibid.*, 153.
[3] See Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (Eng. edn.), p. 42; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Terra-cottas*, p. xxv.

method seems to have been to take a number of conspicuous points of the anatomy and mark them with nails on the block; the drill was then used at these points and the intervening substance gradually cleared away, the points being increased in number as the work advanced, until the form of the model was attained. The whole proceeding is thus seen to have been purely mechanical. The traces of the points, or *puntelli*, may sometimes be observed in statues, as, for instance, in the colossal heads from the Monte Cavallo at Rome, in a copy of the Diskobolos, and in a figure of a barbarian in the Lateran Museum.[1] But it must be borne in mind that all such evidence as we possess on the use of models by ancient sculptors belongs to the Graeco-Roman period.

The hewing-out from the rough was achieved by various kinds of chisels; modern sculptors use about a dozen, and the forms of those used in antiquity were probably not dissimilar, except, of course, that they were not of steel. For the rougher work a sharp chipping instrument was used, either a punch or a pointed hammer; and the final stages of polishing the surface were effected with the file and also with sand. In some archaic statues there is evidence of the use of the saw and the drill for the folds of drapery. The latter instrument, according to Pausanias, was invented by Kallimachos at the end of the fifth century; but there is undoubted evidence of its earlier use, not only in the sculptures of the Parthenon but in the pediments of Aegina and Olympia. It must therefore be assumed that Kallimachos either improved the tool or used it more extensively for under-cutting. Ancient writers constantly employ the phrase 'invented' to denote that the artist improved or perfected some process. In Roman times it was very extensively used, but the best Greek sculptors seem to have deliberately concealed the traces of it in their work.

The simplest method of polishing the surface of the marble was with the chisel throughout, as in the case of the Parthenon sculptures. In the fourth and third centuries the file was more generally employed, especially over large surfaces such as drapery, and by this means contrasts were obtained between the surface of the drapery and that of the flesh, as may be noted in the Hermes of Praxiteles. The method known as *politura*, which began in the third century and increased rapidly thenceforward, consisted in the use of sand or pounded pumice or *poros*-stone;[2] corundum or emery was also employed, just as it was

[1] Blümner, *Technologie*, iii. p. 191; see Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 33.
[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 53.

for gems. In Roman times the polishing was brought to such a pitch that figures sometimes presented almost the appearance of porcelain, the character of the marble surface being quite lost.

An interesting question in regard to ancient statues is, to what extent was colour employed to enhance their appearance? With all his undoubted love of colour and his instinctive feeling that it was in many cases absolutely required to soften the effect of white marble against the brilliant sky of a southern climate, the Greek could yet exercise great restraint in this respect. In the experimental stage of sculpture this was not altogether the case; the rude stone architectural sculptures from the Acropolis of Athens are gaudily and crudely coloured, without even an attempt at reproducing nature, hair and beards and the skins of animals being coloured a bright blue, while green and various shades of red were also employed. In terra-cotta figures again bright colouring was the general rule at all periods, especially in the finest specimens from Tanagra; the hair is red, the nude parts flesh-colour or white, and the drapery bright pink or blue.

But in marble figures we do not find any traces of this tendency. It was no doubt felt that the tint of the marble, which, as we have seen, was not the cold glistening white to which we are now accustomed, was amply sufficient to reproduce the flesh-tints of women, if not of men; it answered in fact to the white slip used in the terra-cottas (see p. 191). In the case of men the difficulty is solved partly by the fact that male statues—especially those of nude athletes—were generally in bronze, the appearance of which metal may have been thought more appropriate to the swarthy sun-tanned hue of a constantly-exposed body. At all events the exquisite texture and delicate tones of the Greek marbles were recognised as amply sufficient for the adequate rendering of the human form.

Was there, then, no system of colouring employed in marble statues? To meet this question with a direct negative would be absurd, seeing that we undoubtedly possess statues or heads with remains of colouring upon them; but these do not of course prove the rule. An ideal head in the British Museum, found at Rome, and perhaps representing Aphrodite, is remarkable for the extent to which it retains traces of the original colouring. The hair was coloured yellow, and the eyebrows, lashes, and pupils of the eyes black, the surface of the flesh being covered with a coating of light pink.[1] Again, a statue of Aphrodite was found at Pompeii with an imitation

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Sculpture*, iii. p. 36, No. 1597.

of an archaic idol standing by her side,[1] in which the drapery is coloured throughout; and a more delicate tint can be traced on the drapery of the goddess herself. As regards the archaic figure the choice of colour was no doubt deliberate; the female figures from the Acropolis of Athens (p. 81) retain ample traces of most vivid colouring, and the sculptor is here endeavouring to reproduce a similar figure. The more delicate colouring of the Aphrodite may be explained in another way.

The architect Vitruvius[2] and his follower Pliny speak of a process applied to the nude parts of statues, called by the Greeks *ganosis*, which implied a general treatment of the surface, not merely the enhancing of details. But it was not of a lasting character, and hence it has seldom left traces on existing works, except so far as it is possible to note a difference of surface on the nude parts of statues which have not suffered from restoration. It was done by means of white wax mingled with oil and applied with a brush when heated, the process being analogous to that of encaustic painting (see p. 142). When the wax was rubbed in, the marble was carefully polished. The object of the process seems to have been simply to soften any glaring effect of whiteness without obscuring the texture of the marble. At the same time it must be borne in mind that there is no evidence for the existence of this process before Roman times; we can only surmise that something of the kind was customary.

Another recorded process is that of *circumlitio*, the object of which was to emphasise details by colouring. This we may recognise, for example, in the Acropolis statues just mentioned, and although we do not know its Greek name, we may suppose that it was in frequent use in Greece. It would find analogies both in the terra-cotta figures and in the use of colour in architecture for patterns and mouldings. In the Acropolis statues the nude parts and the main masses of drapery are left untouched, but the hair and lips are painted red, the eyes marked in black, and the borders of the drapery are also very richly coloured.

Gilding was frequently applied to ancient statues, but more often to bronze than to marble; even the Hermes of Praxiteles retained traces of gilding, as also of red colour, on the remaining sandal that was found. Inscriptions exist which imply that such coats of gilding required renewing from time to time.

In sculptures in relief, especially in architectural works, colour

[1] Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 1344, pl. 47.

[2] vii. 9, 3.

and ornament were much more freely applied than in statuary in the round. The background usually seems to have been painted red or blue, and sometimes the whole of the figures were coloured,[1] sometimes only details that required emphasising. For the latter purpose gilding was often in request, and many details which could not conveniently be reproduced in marble, such as sceptres or harness, were made of bronze, which would probably be gilded. On the whole, the principles adhered to in the colouring of architectural reliefs appear to have been similar to those which governed the decoration of the purely architectural members; broad surfaces, and principal members being left in natural colour, mouldings and details picked out in colour. This is attested, for instance, in the case of the Aegina pediments (p. 86).

In regard to Greek reliefs, it may be also pointed out here that these exhibit an important difference from modern work, in which the level of the background is constant, but the height of the relief varies. In Greek work, on the contrary, the depth of the background varies, but the highest points of the relief are all in one plane. It is probable that this principle is a reflection of the Egyptian system of countersunk relief, which undoubtedly at one time influenced Greek sculpture. Hence the technique also differed from that of modern times; whereas now a clay model is employed on a ground already prepared, ancient reliefs were cut straight out of the stone, the ground being chosen by the sculptor, and no model was required, though he may have had a drawing to work from. The contours were outlined with the chisel and cut out to the depth required.

The technical processes emyloyed in the working of bronze are equally important for our purpose, in spite of the fact that we have so few bronze statues remaining of sufficient size to rank as genuine sculptures. But several of the most famous artists, such as Myron and Lysippos, worked almost entirely in bronze, although the copies of their works that we possess are in marble, and a knowledge of the Greek methods of working in this material is absolutely essential to a complete understanding of Greek sculpture.

Bronze-working was perfected by the Greeks at a very early period, probably about the beginning of the sixth century, when hollow-casting was introduced; previous to this time statues were either cast solid, or made by covering a wooden core with plates of bronze riveted together (in some cases with gold). The latter process

[1] As in the early Acropolis pediments at Athens mentioned above.

was known as *sphyrelaton*, meaning 'beaten with the hammer,' and we have descriptions of several early statues which were made in this fashion or 'clothed' in bronze, to use the metaphorical term employed by ancient writers. No doubt the idea arose from the use of these bronze plates to represent drapery when it was first considered desirable to cover the nakedness of the wooden *xoana*.

Solid-casting was universally employed in primitive times, and its inconvenience was the less felt in that no large works in this material were as yet attempted; it was in fact always retained for small objects, in the case of which its disadvantages were less obvious. The process was derived from Egypt, where it was known as early as the fifth and sixth dynasties (about 3500-3100 B.C.). But it is evident that the waste of valuable material and the inconvenient weight of such figures must have soon led to new developments.

The attribution of the invention of hollow-casting to Rhoikos and Theodoros of Samos about the end of the seventh century B.C. (see below, p. 74), may not be without a germ of truth. They probably learned the art in Egypt and introduced it into the Peloponnese, where they founded schools. Pausanias mentions a statue of Night at Ephesus by Rhoikos as the oldest hollow-cast statue. It is also recorded that they were the first to utilise clay figures as models for bronze statues. This method of casting statues from a clay model is known now-a-days as the *cire perdue* process.

The *cire perdue* method universally employed for Greek sculpture in bronze from this time onwards was in the main, as far as is known, identical with that in use at the present day. A very vivid and instructive account of this method of casting statues is given by Benvenuto Cellini in his autobiography,[1] in describing the making of his Perseus. The name refers to the manner in which the wax coating of the model was disposed of and replaced by the bronze, as an epigram in the Greek Anthology puts it: 'Ikaros, wax wrought thy destruction; but now it is by means of wax that the sculptor has restored to thee thy form.'

The first proceeding is to make a clay or plaster model, roughly reproducing the whole conception, but on a slightly smaller scale. This model was built on a skeleton of iron, with a core of soft clay carefully beaten up and mixed with pounded pottery. Over the model was laid a thin coating of wax in sufficient thickness to give a perfect modelling of the future statue, the smaller details being

[1] Transl. by J. A. Symonds (1896), p. 360 ff.

touched up with tools of wood, ivory, or bone. The wax was pierced at many points with bronze rods of square section, which were left projecting to some distance. In other places holes were left, and small tubes inserted. The production of the outer mould required very great care, as it had to stand the action of fire. It was made of pottery pounded extremely fine and mixed with clay and water to the consistency of cream, which mixture was applied in several coats or



Fig. 11. Bronze Foundry. From a Vase at Berlin.

'slips' over the inner mould till it was reduced to a shapeless lump. It was then bound round with hoops of bronze or iron, and was gently lowered to a horizontal position and tilted up over the furnace, or lowered head downwards into a pit with a fire at the bottom.

The inner surface of the mould had now received the impress of the modelling, and the wax could be removed by means of the tubes inserted, while the bronze rods held the core firmly in place. A hole was made in each foot of the statue, and molten bronze was poured in in place of the wax which had been extracted by the heat. It was

a matter of some difficulty to make the metal run into all the cavities, owing to its liability to cool rapidly, and fires would have to be constantly kept up at a great heat. The statue was now left to cool for some days, at the end of which the outer mould was carefully chipped off, and the ends of the bronze rods were cut smooth. The core was extracted by means of iron rakes through the sole of the foot, being shaken out in little bits. Cracks or raised lines caused by defects in the mould, or 'honey-combing' caused by air-bubbles, had to be carefully made good, and the hair also had often to be touched up. The surface was then prepared by colouring, lacquering, or gilding. The great advantage of this method over work in marble is that the result gives the direct rapid work of the artist in wax, instead of the laborious accomplishment of his conception.

This account is that of the modern process, but it is in the main identical with the ancient method, so far as it is known. Literary evidence is, however, somewhat scanty on this point. But some very valuable evidence is supplied by a vase-painting in the Berlin Museum, of about 480 B.C., representing a bronze foundry with statues in process of completion (Fig. 11). It is in fact more instructive than any amount of description. One of the chief points on which it throws a light is that casting appears to have been generally done in separate pieces, the parts being afterwards welded together; the head of one statue, out of which the core is being raked, lies on the ground before it, while a foot and a hand and some heads are suspended from the wall of the foundry. Another statue is already completed, and two men are engaged in giving the finishing touches to the surface.

The ancients had many devices for embellishing the surface and enhancing the effect of their bronze statues. Much however that we read in their writings is utterly untrustworthy, and mere romance, such as the stories of Seilanion and Aristonidas (see pp. 123, 132). Such stories probably arose from some accidental external colouring of the bronze, for it would be technically impossible to arrange in the casting that blushes or pallor should be produced exactly where they were wanted. But there is no doubt that the Greeks used polychromy to some extent for their bronze statues, and endeavoured to obtain effects by artificial means. We read of statues of athletes in which a bronze was employed that reproduced the sunburnt appearance of their skin, and of the statues of sea-captains which the Spartans dedicated at Delphi as being of a blue colour, to indicate their marine associations.

COLOURING OF BRONZE STATUES

The question has sometimes been raised whether the Greeks applied an artificial patina of some kind to their statues in order to give them an appearance somewhat similar to that which they present to us when coated with a natural patina after burial in the earth. If this was the case, it would enable us to understand how the effects just mentioned were produced, for it can hardly have been due to atmospheric causes, as Plutarch suggests in the case of the sea-captains. There is some evidence that the Greeks were acquainted with a kind of artificial patina, made by combining a basis of sulphur with silver, iron, or lead, according to the colour required; this was mixed into a paste and spread over the bronze and heated, producing a patinated surface of sulphurate of bronze.

But the patina of most ancient bronzes that have come down to us is more probably due to natural causes, *i.e.* to the chemical action of the soil in which they have lain. This view is supported by the fact that some kinds of patina are distinctive of certain localities. For instance, bronzes found in Campania are usually of a bright apple-green colour, while those found in Gaul are mostly of a brownish-yellow.

The final stages in the completion of a bronze statue, which include inlaid and plated work, gilding and silvering and enamelling, were all with a view to giving it a polychrome appearance. Inlaid work in gold or silver was employed for jewellery or patterns of dresses, and enamels of coloured glass were prepared by special workmen for the eyes, except where precious stones took their place. The practices of gilding and silvering statues seem to have been fairly universal.[1]

[1] The writer desires to express his indebtedness to Prof. E. A. Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture* (introductory chapter), for much of the information in the foregoing pages.

CHAPTER V

THE RISE OF GREEK SCULPTURE (600-480 B.C.)

Early cult-images — Adherence to conventional types — Athlete statues — Technical inventions — The Dorian School — The Ionian School — Argos — Athens — The Aeginetan School.

IT is not of course actually possible to fix any given date for the beginning of Greek sculpture, properly so called. Our evidence is necessarily derived from literary traditions, and the earliest sculptors of whose names there is any record cannot be placed further back than the beginning of the sixth century. There are also a few sculptures which bear inscriptions of about the same date. It will therefore be found that the year 600 B.C. may be regarded as the most convenient point at which to begin our survey, though some existing or recorded works may be earlier, and some, like the chest of Kypselos, and the throne at Amyklae, actually later, but conceived in the spirit of the previous age.

The rude and primitive representations of deities which first served the Greeks as statues in their temples and were often preserved from motives of reverence, hardly deserve to be regarded as works of sculpture. They have however a claim upon our consideration, in spite of the absence of artistic feeling, as the first attempts at the embodiment of divinity in a concrete form for purposes of worship. In some temples a mere fetish in the form of a conical stone or *baetylos*, as at Paphos, or a log of wood without any attempt at organic form or ornamentation, sufficed for an object of worship, its special sanctity being due to the supposed fact of its having fallen from heaven, or to some other mysterious association. It was not until some advance had been made in the mastery over technical processes that art was enlisted in the service of religion.

The primitive wooden figures which served as cult-images were known as *xoana*, meaning 'hewn objects';[1] they were in fact mere

[1] It should be borne in mind that the word ξέω from which this is derived was not exclusively used of hewing wood—marble is spoken of as 'hewn-stone.'





EARLY FEMALE STATUES FROM NAXOS AND SAMOS





THE APOLLO OF TENEA (MUNICH), AND THE STELE OF ARISTION (ATHENS)

tree-trunks with the rudest possible indication of facial features or arms, and a plain round base in place of the lower members. Judging from the finds of terra-cotta figures on some primitive sites, as in Cyprus, it is probable that clay was largely used for smaller images of votive character, and that the primitive potter deliberately modelled these in the manner of the wooden figures.

So too when marble first came into use, the columnar form was the type consistently adopted for the first attempts at statues; and an example in bronze is furnished by the Apollo of Amyklae mentioned in a previous chapter. Another variety of form was that of a board-like figure, cut in a flat, almost rectangular, shape instead of a cylindrical one; but this is more usually found in clay than in marble.

Until the end of the fifth century at least a strong spirit of religious conservatism seems to have prevailed all over Greece, and we find not a few recorded instances of the preservation of these images in the temples as objects of veneration, or of the adherence to some primitive type long after artistic feeling had advanced beyond such conceptions. At Athens it was not until the time of Pericles that the ancient cult-image of Athena was replaced by Pheidias' wonderful statue in gold and ivory; and even then it was carefully preserved in the neighbouring Erechtheion with other sacred relics. A similar image of Hera was kept in her temple at Argos, the chief centre of her worship; and at Phigaleia in Arcadia, where there was a cult of a horse-headed Demeter, we read that even in the fifth century the sculptor Onatas was obliged to make a new image exactly on the lines of the old (p. 85). The terra-cotta statuettes of our museums show countless examples of the preservation of archaic types down to a late date; and this hieratic tendency was very strong in Athens, as witnessed by the permanence of the archaic coin-types and the preservation of the formal and archaic method of representing Athena on the Panathenaic prize vases (see pp. 173, 239).

We now, however, enter upon a period when the artistic instincts of the Greeks begin to make themselves felt as an adjunct to their religious beliefs; and we shall see how their early productions, however rude and helpless, nevertheless always show signs of the struggle after perfection which Pausanias descried in the works he attributes to Daidalos (p. 5). We have laid down the limits of this archaic and progressive period as extending from 600 to 480 B.C., a period of about 120 years. But although the difference is so vast between works executed about the time of these respective limits, the development is

on the whole so uniform and regular that the whole may be conveniently treated as one period. It has already been briefly indicated (p. 9) that the advance of Greek sculpture proceeds on different lines from that of architecture and painting, the time of its perfection being midway between those of the other two arts. The minor decorative arts develop far more rapidly than the higher branches, owing to the different circumstances under which they were produced, and also to their being more generally subject to foreign influence.

A prominent feature of early Greek art in general, and not least of its sculpture, is the tendency to adopt and adhere closely to certain *types*, limited in number, but offering in the issue adequate scope for development of style. In vase-paintings of the sixth century B.C. this type-system reaches its height, every one of the more popular mythological subjects which the vase-painters affected being conceived after a fixed type according to certain unvarying principles of composition. But for the present we must limit ourselves to the consideration of types employed for single figures, as illustrated by sculpture both of the higher and humbler kinds. To trace the origin of all these types would be beyond the scope of this work; but it may be noted that their conventional character is largely due to a foreign origin, and that the transformation and Hellenisation of Oriental types may be very clearly observed in some classes of terra-cotta figures, such as those of Cyprus, Sardinia, and Rhodes.[1]

We may also learn from a study of any representative collection of archaic terra-cotta figures, such as those from Rhodes in the British Museum, that a large proportion of them are conceived in one of two forms: a seated or standing draped female figure (see p. 187). On some ancient sites, as at Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta, or in Cyprus, exactly similar figures are found in limestone; and from such figures we can form a fair idea of the limitations of the sixth-century sculptor. In the earliest examples the influence of the *xoana* or column-figures is still to be observed; the arms are rudimentary and the lower limbs are not distinguished; but gradually, as the features are modelled with more and more success, the arms and legs become more and more distinctly formed, and at last stand out free from the body or from the drapery. Thus it was that Daidalos 'made his statues to walk' as the old tradition went, or as in the more explicit words of an ancient commentator, already quoted on p. 22. In the treatment of the

[1] See Heuzey, *Cat. des figurines du Louvre*, i. p. 113 ff.

drapery the same gradual advance is to be observed from flat wooden-like masses up to sharply-defined and gracefully-falling folds.

Among the smaller figures, which are largely of a votive character, male types are curiously rare; but in life-size statues they are found almost as commonly as the female, only with this difference, that the male figures are almost invariably nude. This is an important point, because it betokens a new invention on the part of the Greeks. The feeling of early times was strongly opposed to the nude in art, especially among the Oriental peoples, and it was so to a great extent in Greece. The adoption of the nude must, therefore, be due to some special cause, which we doubtless find in the Greek athletic games. When we read that athletes appeared nude at Olympia as early as 720 B.C., and Thucydides tells us that the custom had become universal by his day, we can understand how the principle became accepted in art. There is a series of statues of the nude male type, showing various stages of artistic development, which are usually known by the name of 'Apollo'; but it is extremely doubtful whether they are intended to represent that god. At all events there are equally good grounds for regarding them as representations, if not portraits, of athletes. It is probable that the first statue of an athlete of which we have literary record, that of Arrhachion set up at Phigaleia in 564 B.C., was of similar character. At all events we may see in this series of figures a distinct attempt to express anatomical details and reproduce typical well-developed male figures.

A few other types occur from time to time, such as seated draped male figures, or winged figures, human and animal, or hybrid monsters, to some of which we shall have occasion to recur; but almost all archaic works of art fall under one or other of the above heads.

We may now devote a few words to the literary evidence for the art of this period, which we shall find to be chiefly in the form of traditions that this or that artist was the inventor of some particular process or new type.[1] Unfortunately these traditions are very vague and untrustworthy, and they must be used with the utmost caution. All that they really tell us is that certain artists attained to excellence or showed originality in some particular branch of art. A parallel may be cited from the Book of Genesis, in which we are told that Tubal-Cain was 'the forger of every cutting-instrument of brass and iron,' and his brother Jubal 'the father of all such as handle the harp

[1] See Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, Nos. 259-374, and Henry S. Jones, *Select Passages illustrative of Greek Sculpture*, p. 7 ff.

and pipe.' The classical writers are no more to be taken literally in such statements than the compiler of antediluvian history.

The most interesting traditions recorded by the writers on art are those relating to technical discoveries in different materials. More than one writer has told the story of Butades of Corinth, who is said to have discovered the art of modelling in clay by filling in the outline which his daughter had traced of her lover's face in silhouette against a wall. But the same invention is ascribed to Theodoros and Rhoikos of Samos, who were also said to have invented the method of casting bronze statues on a hollow core. For this purpose clay models would be necessary. The true version is that clay had been used from very early times for figures, and that when bronze statues ceased to be cast solid (as the early ones were), clay was naturally utilised as stated. The art of welding iron was attributed to Glaukos of Chios; and schools of artists are mentioned in Crete, Chios, and Naxos, who made great advances in the art of carving in marble. Some of these sculptors are described as pupils of Daidalos, among whom the most prominent were Dipoinos and Skyllis of Crete, who were supposed to have travelled through the Peloponnese and to have founded several schools. Their date is given as about 580 B.C., and they worked not only in Parian marble but in gilt bronze, ebony, and ivory. Statues of Apollo, Artemis, Herakles, and Athena are attributed to them, and also a group of Castor and Pollux.

A group of four sculptors is associated with the island of Samos: Theodoros, Rhoikos, Smilis, and Telekles. Although numerous legends have gathered about their names, the two first were apparently representatives of a very important school, dating about 560-540 B.C. We have already alluded to the inventions attributed to them, and pointed out that they probably mark the time when the old method of casting statues in solid bronze was replaced by that of casting them hollow from clay models, a process which has held the field almost exclusively up to the present day. They were also said to have been the architects of the famous temples of Hera at Samos and Artemis at Ephesus, and of one at Sparta. For the first-named Smilis made the cultus-statue which replaced a shapeless plank of wood. Rhoikos is associated with a statue of Night at Ephesus, and Theodoros also attained to great fame as a gem-engraver and goldsmith. To the latter are attributed the famous ring of Polykrates, the tyrant of Samos, and the gold and silver vessels dedicated by Croesus at Delphi. It is interesting to note that the names of a sculptor Theodoros and of



THE NIKE OF ARCHERMOS
(ATHENS MUSEUM)





METOPES FROM TEMPLES AT SELINUS: PERSEUS SLAYING MEDUSA, AND EUROPA ON THE BULL

Rhoikos have recently been found in inscriptions of the sixth century, so that they may well have been historical personages. Of Telekles we are told that he made at Ephesus one-half of a statue of which Theodoros made the other half at Samos, and that the two halves were found to fit perfectly together. This marvellous feat is explained by the fact that they both carefully followed the Egyptian system of proportions.

In the island of Chios five sculptors (in four generations) have left their names, if nothing more: Melas and Mikkiades, Archermos, Bupalos, and Athenis. Archermos is said to have been the first to represent Nike (Victory) with wings, and as we are told that he made statues for the island of Delos, it is possible to associate with him a remarkable early statue from that site, which represents a winged female figure.[1] Curiously enough, with the statue there was found a base or pedestal which seems to have belonged to it, bearing an inscription with the names of Mikkiades and Archermos as dedicators. The figure is represented with face and body to the front, but kneeling sideways on the left knee; this, however, is only a convention of archaic art to indicate rapid sideways motion. Although many of the details, such as the treatment of the hair, are crude and conventional, yet the conception betokens great originality and advance in execution. Bupalos and Athenis are known to us from literature as the subject of lampoons by the poet Hipponax, whose ugliness they had ridiculed.

The list of names of sixth-century sculptors recorded by ancient writers might be extended, but is little more than a catalogue. It will, therefore, be found more profitable to turn from the literary records to the existing monuments, most of which are indeed quite recent discoveries; from them alone can we learn the true characteristics and capabilities of sixth-century sculpture. It will be found convenient to take the different sites in turn on which statues have been found, dividing them into two main groups corresponding to the two races between which Greece was roughly divided—the Dorians and the Ionians. Some of these sculptures are doubtless the product of definitely organised schools, such as we read of at Sparta, Argos and Sikyon, and at Athens.

The Dorian race extended its influence over the Peloponnese as far as Megara, Crete, and parts of Northern and Central Greece, such as Boeotia, as well as the highly-cultured island of Sicily, with its important colonies; under the heading of Ionian art are included the coast

[1] See Plate xxi.

of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, together with the other islands of the Aegean, Thessaly, and, last but not least, Athens.

Crete is only represented by a very rude stone figure from Eleutherna, which may give an impression of the works of Dipoinos and Skyllis; the features are somewhat sketchy, and the treatment of the hair is decidedly Egyptian. But Peloponnesian art, which, according to tradition, was dependent on Crete for its origin, is more productive of material for study. From Sparta we have a curious series of archaic reliefs which seem to have been much influenced by decorative art in bronze and ivory, and a characteristic series of tomb-sculptures also in relief. The latter represent the cult of the heroified dead; in accordance with a long-established Greek belief; he is represented enthroned, his family, on a much smaller scale as mortals, bringing offerings. The modelling is exceedingly flat, in a series of receding planes which give a fair idea of perspective, the details being rendered by engraving. At Olympia a colossal head of Hera was found, perhaps from the temple-statue in the Heraion, which, rude as it is, is not without its merits.

'But the most remarkable find in the Peloponnese is the so-called Apollo of Tenea,[1] one of the series of standing male figures which, as we have seen, perhaps represent athletes. This statue, now at Munich, appears to have stood over a grave; it is in excellent preservation, and admirably executed both in proportions and details. The so-called 'archaic smile,' which is generally to be observed on the countenance of an early Greek statue, is here very much accentuated. The meaning of this expression has been disputed; it has been urged that it indicates the pleasurable effect the artist desired his work to have upon the spectator, but it is perhaps only an attempt at giving expression to the face. Although the slimness of this figure is very pronounced, there is a remarkable amount of success in the rendering of the anatomical details.

From Boeotia have come two or three interesting monuments, including several 'Apollo' figures of the same type as that from Tenea. One was found at Orchomenos, the others at the temple of Apollo Ptoös. It seems, therefore, probable that these latter figures really represent Apollo, but the same type must have been used both for the god and for the athlete. The Orchomenos figure is much less advanced than the others, has no smile, and is generally heavier and stiffer. Even more archaic is a group of two figures made by Dermes and

[1] See Plate xx.

Kitylos, which has been largely influenced by Egyptian models; it has an inscription which can hardly be later than 600 B.C. The Boeotian school seems to have been independent, yet susceptible to external influences, but there are no traces of it in the literary records.

The only other Dorian site that need be mentioned here is that of Selinus in Sicily, famous for its six great Doric temples (see Chapter III.). From these temples a series of sculptured metopes of various dates has been obtained, in all four different sets, ranging from the beginning of the sixth down to the fourth century. The earliest consists of three separate reliefs,[1] of which two are mythological in subject, the third representing a four-horse chariot. The other two scenes are the slaying of Medusa by Perseus and the capture of two brigands by Herakles. The Perseus relief[2] is singularly uncouth and barbarous, and in both there is a considerable appeal to a sense of humour, probably, however, entirely unconscious. While the upper parts of the figures are in full face, the legs are in profile, and the proportions of the figures are generally very heavy, with abnormally large heads. The chariot-scene is probably copied from engraved bronze-work; although more advanced in style than the other two, the necessity of rendering it in front view seems to have caused the artist no little difficulty. The second set of metopes, found in 1892,[3] shows considerable advance, and the effect is much more pleasing; one of the subjects, Europa riding on the bull, is a particularly spirited, not to say charming, piece of work.[4] The third set belongs strictly to the fifth century, but is still of an archaic character; one slab represents a fallen giant with some force of detail, but without the virility that we look for at that date; others represent Zeus and Hera, and Actaeon devoured by his hounds.[5]

Among the monuments that may be placed in the category of Ionian art, those of Asia Minor claim a foremost place. As the heirs of Mycenaean culture, the Greeks of the coast of Asia Minor, especially those in the cities and islands of Ionia proper, were, during the archaic period, always in a comparatively advanced state of culture. This is exemplified not only by their sculpture, but by their architecture and painting, of which we treat in other chapters (III., VIII., IX.). Among their sculptors, besides the names already recorded from Chios and Samos, was Bathykles of Magnesia, who was invited to Laconia to

[1] From temple C; see p. 38. Date about 575 B.C.
[2] Plate XXII.
[3] Belonging to temple O. Date about 500-480 B.C.
[4] Plate XXII.
[5] Temple E. Date about 480 B.C. See Benndorf, *Metopen von Selinunt*, pls. 5-9.

make the great throne of Apollo at Amyklae. In Ionia itself there were two great centres of worship, both of which have been explored for the British Museum, the temple of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus, and that of Artemis at Ephesus. The chief remains from Branchidae are a series of seated statues which lined the sacred way leading to the temple.[1] By means of dedicatory inscriptions cut on some of the figures, they may be dated about 550 B.C. They are almost the earliest examples we have in marble of the 'seated' type, and their primitive character is illustrated by the effect the figures give of being all of one piece with their seats. As it has been said, 'they seem to have sat down and have not been able to get up again.' The drapery, too, is exceedingly heavy and flat, but some are more advanced in style than others. The cultus-statue of this temple was by the sculptor Kanachos (see below, p. 84).

The earlier temple of Ephesus was built in the middle of the sixth century B.C., and several of its columns, as we learn from Herodotus, were given by King Croesus. One of these columns, adorned with sculptured reliefs, which has now been restored at the British Museum, bears an inscription recording this fact, and can thus be dated about 555-550 B.C., being contemporaneous with Branchidae. But the style is much more advanced, and the full rounded forms and somewhat sensuous character of the figures illustrate the tendency to luxury and softness of the Ionian race at that time.

The influence of the Ionian school is also seen as far south as Lycia, in the so-called Harpy tomb, brought from Xanthus to the British Museum by Sir Charles Fellows. It is sculptured with reliefs on the four sides, mostly of a sepulchral character; the main subject on each side is that of worshippers bringing offerings to the enthroned dead, as on the Spartan reliefs (p. 76).[2] At the corners are monsters with human heads and birds' wings carrying off the souls of the deceased, which are represented as small female figures. These death-demons were formerly known as Harpies, whence the name of the tomb; but both the religious associations and the art-type of the Harpy were with the Greeks of an entirely different character, and these figures convey no idea of violence or rapacity, answering more to the Christian angel. The style of the reliefs bears out what has already been said of those from Ephesus, but the general effect is admirable. The date is probably about 520 B.C.

Of the Aegean islands several have yielded interesting examples of

[1] One of these is given on Plate XXIII.

[2] See Plate XXIV.



THE "HARPY" TOMB FROM XANTHUS (NORTH AND WEST SIDES)
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



SEATED FIGURE FROM BRANCHIDAE
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

archaic art. The most primitive examples come from Samos and Naxos, and illustrate the two types of *xoana* of which we have spoken, the 'column' type and the 'board' type. The former, from Samos, is in the Louvre, and bears a dedication to Hera by one Cheramyes.[1] It is intended to represent that goddess, and was found close to her temple, but the head is wanting. The lower portion of the body is purely columnar in form, except that the toes are indicated at the base; the upper part is better modelled, but the artist has devoted his attention rather to the lines and folds of the drapery than to the anatomy. The other, found in Delos, is dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra of Naxos, and represents the earliest efforts of the Naxian school.[2] It is very flat and almost rectangular in outline; the arms are free, but the legs are not indicated. The hair is treated in Egyptian fashion, like that of the figure from Crete (p. 76). A better specimen of Naxian art is a tombstone at Athens, found in Boeotia, with a relief by Alxenor, which dates about 480 B.C. It represents the deceased man playing with a dog, and is a very graceful piece of work. The inscription on the base runs: 'Alxenor the Naxian made me; only look!'

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[1] See Plate XIX. [2] *Ibid.*

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Among them is a series of sculptures executed in a soft limestone or calcareous tufa known to the Greeks as *poros*-stone, the surface of which was always painted, as was the case with terra-cotta statues in Italy. The colouring, though now very imperfectly preserved, was remarkably brilliant and varied, including brick-red, flesh-colour, bright blue, and dark green. This is the more remarkable as such a manifold scheme of colouring is otherwise unknown in early art; on the vases the only colour used is a red varying from brown to purple, and blue and green are never found. It is only on the terra-cotta figures and vases of the fifth century that they appear, and even great painters were slow to adopt more than a limited number (see p. 141).

The remains of these sculptures show that they are from pedimental groups of a temple, and they are therefore the earliest examples we possess, except the Selinus metopes, of architectural sculpture. They appear to have come from old buildings on the Acropolis which cannot now be identified. The subjects represented are the labours of Herakles, such as his combats with the hydra, with Triton, 'the old man of the sea,' and with the giant Typhon, whose body terminated in that of a serpent.[1] The latter has three

[1] See Plate xxv.

heads, all of which are well preserved, but present to us a somewhat grotesque appearance with their bright red faces, bright blue beards, and half-humorous expression. It should be noted that in each case the serpentine or piscine body of the monster, with its tapering coils, is admirably adapted for filling up the angles of the pediments, which always presented a difficulty to the sculptor, and they may have been specially selected with this end in view. A similar work in marble, but equally highly coloured, is supposed to have come from one of the pediments of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis, the predecessor of the Parthenon or Erechtheion (p. 40); it represents Athena in combat with a giant.

We should also mention here a seated figure of Athena which has been conjecturally associated with a sculptor named Endoios, whose name has also been found in an inscription. He is spoken of by ancient writers as a pupil of Daidalos, but in any case was a typical representative of the early Athenian school, and is stated to have made a statue of this type. It may be compared with the Branchidae figures (p. 78), but represents a more advanced stage of art, in which the figure no longer seems to form one block with the chair.

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The special importance of these sculptures is that they form a series, similar indeed in type, but differing in *style* to such an extent that they present a complete illustration of the development of the Athenian school during the sixth century and down to

480 B.C. In spite of their superficial likeness no two are identical, and they all show a marked individuality of treatment which distinguishes them at a glance from other schools.

The type is that of an erect figure, standing stiff and straight, with right fore-arm bent up and the left hand drawing aside the skirt of the drapery; the right hand has in all cases held an offering or attribute, but only one or two now remain. The treatment and arrangement of the drapery call not only for admiration but for careful study. It usually consists of a long tunic (*chiton*) with looped-up sleeves, over which a mantle (*peplos* or *himation*) falls in rich and graceful folds, rendered with great skill. The borders of the robes are often ornamented with inlaid patterns. Still more remarkable is the rendering of the faces, especially in the more developed examples, and the gradual evolution of an expression, from the staring countenances of the earliest statues to the delicate rounded contours, the softened eyes and mouth of the latest, shows the rapidly developing powers of the Athenian artist.

We now turn to the treatment of the male figure by the artists of this school. The earliest example of a male figure in the round from the Acropolis represents a man carrying a calf; the work is somewhat coarse and rough, but a great advance on the *poros* pediments. Like them it was probably richly coloured. An inscription on the base shows it to belong to the first half of the sixth century. Of more value, as illustrating the treatment of male types in this period, are some of the archaic reliefs, including one of the head of a *diskobolos*, or disc (quoit)-thrower, and a much later one of a man mounting a chariot. The latter figure, which has been identified with Apollo, presents an excellent study of drapery, which is conventionally treated in parallel folds. Some of these early monuments are in the form of carved tombstones, such as that of the warrior Aristion by Aristokles, which was found near Marathon[1]; it is, however, too early in date to be associated with the great battle. The work is delicate and finished in the extreme, but inaccurate in certain details, as in the right hand of the warrior, which is drawn like a foot, or the eye, which is represented as if in full face, as in the contemporary vase paintings.

The beginning of the fifth century synchronises with a remarkable advance in the artistic history of Athens, paving the way for the approaching perfection of sculpture. We are now introduced to

[1] See Plate xx.



POROS PEDIMENT WITH FIGURE OF TYPHON FROM THE ACROPOLIS, ATHENS

the names of many sculptors who attained to great renown in antiquity, and in some cases we are enabled to make comparisons with existing works. Among the female statues from the Acropolis one is mounted upon a base which may belong to it, bearing the name of Antenor,[1] the sculptor who, as we know from literary sources, made two bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the liberators of Athens from the tyrant Hipparchos. These statues were carried off to Persia by Xerxes in 480 B.C., but were brought back in the time of Alexander the Great; meanwhile new ones were set up by Kritios and Nesiotes; and latterly the two groups stood side by side. Both have now perished, but we have several copies of the statues, of which the best is a marble group at Naples. It has, however, been badly restored, a fourth-century head having been given to Aristogeiton. It is not absolutely certain which of the two originals this group represents, but criticism is generally agreed in preferring Kritios and Nesiotes, partly on the ground of a description of their style by Lucian, which exactly suits the Naples group.

For an idea of Antenor's work we must, then, refer to the female statue placed on the base with his name, while in this group we may recognise the 'concise, sinewy, and hard' treatment of which Lucian speaks. The two figures are, in fact, highly-developed athletes—a great advance indeed upon the Apollo types of Boeotia and the islands —with a tendency towards idealisation, due to the halo of glory with which the two heroes were surrounded in the minds of the Athenian people. With Kritios and Nesiotes Lucian associates Hegias, another sculptor of the same school, and there is more than one head of a simple severe style existing at Athens which has been considered to reflect their characteristics. The best is a head of a young athlete in the Acropolis Museum, in which we are struck with the resemblance to the most developed of the female statues;[2] in both there is a strong infusion of Doric feeling.

This athletic school owes its existence in the first place to that of Argos and Sikyon, usually known as the Peloponnesian school, which had a great influence in the archaic period, and traced its origin to the time of Dipoinos and Skyllis (see p. 74). Unfortunately they worked mainly in bronze, and consequently there are hardly any existing works which can be attributed to this school, our knowledge of which rests almost entirely on literary evidence. We may, however,

[1] See Plate xxvi. [2] See Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 187 and fig. 37.

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heads, all of which are well preserved, but present to us a somewhat grotesque appearance with their bright red faces, bright blue beards, and half-humorous expression. It should be noted that in each case the serpentine or piscine body of the monster, with its tapering coils, is admirably adapted for filling up the angles of the pediments, which always presented a difficulty to the sculptor, and they may have been specially selected with this end in view. A similar work in marble, but equally highly coloured, is supposed to have come from one of the pediments of the old temple of Athena on the Acropolis, the predecessor of the Parthenon or Erechtheion (p. 40); it represents Athena in combat with a giant.

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make the great throne of Apollo at Amyklae. In Ionia itself there were two great centres of worship, both of which have been explored for the British Museum, the temple of Apollo at Branchidae near Miletus, and that of Artemis at Ephesus. The chief remains from Branchidae are a series of seated statues which lined the sacred way leading to the temple.[1] By means of dedicatory inscriptions cut on some of the figures, they may be dated about 550 B.C. They are almost the earliest examples we have in marble of the 'seated' type, and their primitive character is illustrated by the effect the figures give of being all of one piece with their seats. As it has been said, 'they seem to have sat down and have not been able to get up again.' The drapery, too, is exceedingly heavy and flat, but some are more advanced in style than others. The cultus-statue of this temple was by the sculptor Kanachos (see below, p. 84).

The earlier temple of Ephesus was built in the middle of the sixth century B.C., and several of its columns, as we learn from Herodotus, were given by King Croesus. One of these columns, adorned with sculptured reliefs, which has now been restored at the British Museum, bears an inscription recording this fact, and can thus be dated about 555-550 B.C., being contemporaneous with Branchidae. But the style is much more advanced, and the full rounded forms and somewhat sensuous character of the figures illustrate the tendency to luxury and softness of the Ionian race at that time.

The influence of the Ionian school is also seen as far south as Lycia, in the so-called Harpy tomb, brought from Xanthus to the British Museum by Sir Charles Fellows. It is sculptured with reliefs on the four sides, mostly of a sepulchral character; the main subject on each side is that of worshippers bringing offerings to the enthroned dead, as on the Spartan reliefs (p. 76).[2] At the corners are monsters with human heads and birds' wings carrying off the souls of the deceased, which are represented as small female figures. These death-demons were formerly known as Harpies, whence the name of the tomb; but both the religious associations and the art-type of the Harpy were with the Greeks of an entirely different character, and these figures convey no idea of violence or rapacity, answering more to the Christian angel. The style of the reliefs bears out what has already been said of those from Ephesus, but the general effect is admirable. The date is probably about 520 B.C.

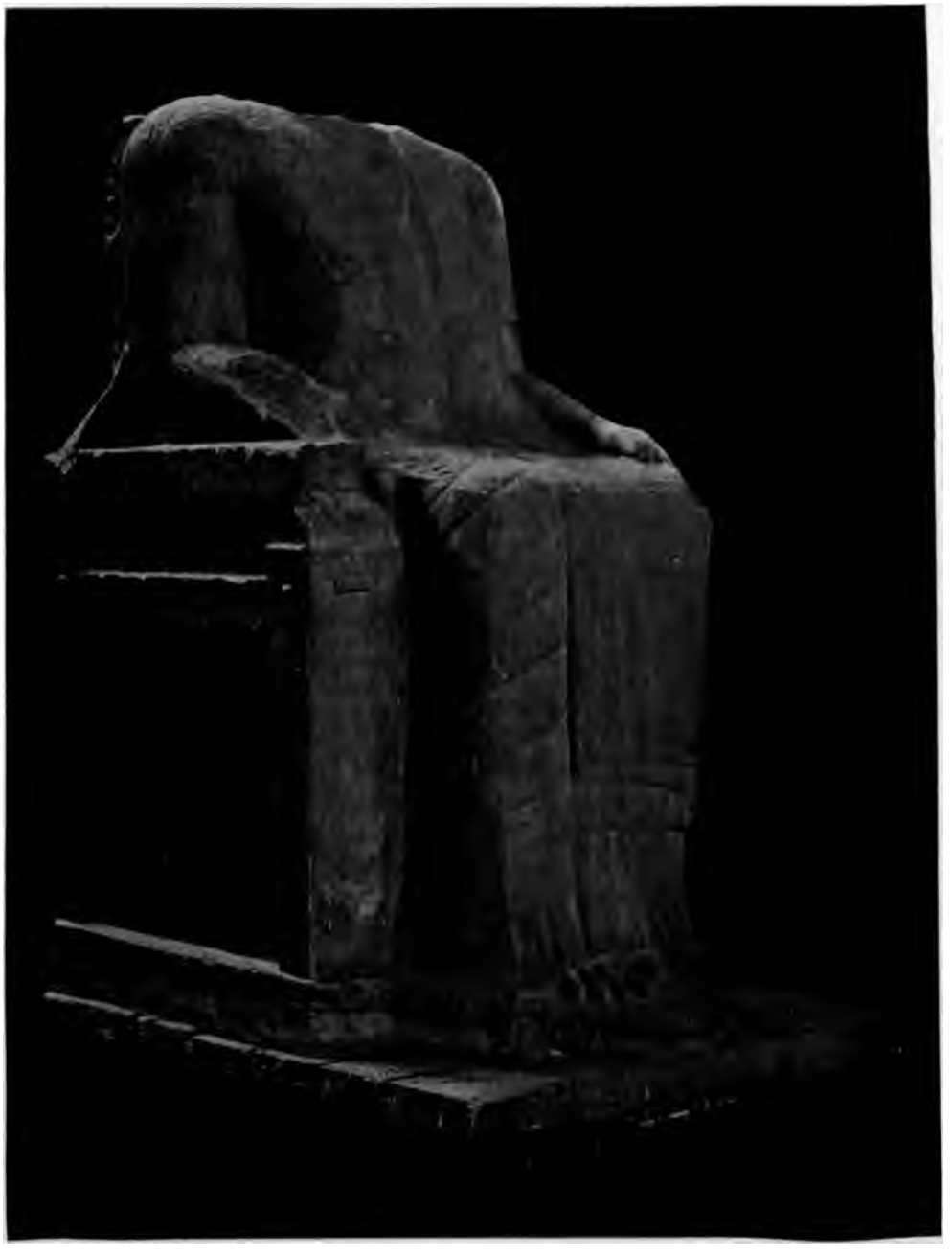
Of the Aegean islands several have yielded interesting examples of

[1] One of these is given on Plate XXIII.

[2] See Plate XXIV.



THE "HARPY" TOMB FROM XANTHUS (NORTH AND WEST SIDES)
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



SEATED FIGURE FROM BRANCHIDAE
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

archaic art. The most primitive examples come from Samos and Naxos, and illustrate the two types of *xoana* of which we have spoken, the 'column' type and the 'board' type. The former, from Samos, is in the Louvre, and bears a dedication to Hera by one Cheramyes.[1] It is intended to represent that goddess, and was found close to her temple, but the head is wanting. The lower portion of the body is purely columnar in form, except that the toes are indicated at the base; the upper part is better modelled, but the artist has devoted his attention rather to the lines and folds of the drapery than to the anatomy. The other, found in Delos, is dedicated to Artemis by Nicandra of Naxos, and represents the earliest efforts of the Naxian school.[2] It is very flat and almost rectangular in outline; the arms are free, but the legs are not indicated. The hair is treated in Egyptian fashion, like that of the figure from Crete (p. 76). A better specimen of Naxian art is a tombstone at Athens, found in Boeotia, with a relief by Alxenor, which dates about 480 B.C. It represents the deceased man playing with a dog, and is a very graceful piece of work. The inscription on the base runs: 'Alxenor the Naxian made me; only look!'

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[1] See Plate XIX. [2] *Ibid.*

suppose that it was the special merit of this school to have developed and finally brought to perfection the athletic type in art. The influence of athletics on Greek art, to which allusion has more than once been made, is nowhere more apparent than in the art of the Peloponnese, and was essentially typical of the Dorian character, as contrasted with the more sensuous and luxurious Ionian races.

The earliest artists recorded as having made statues of victorious athletes were Eutelidas and Chrysothemis of Argos; but they stated on the base of one of their figures that they 'learned their art from their predecessors,' which implies the existence of the school at an earlier period; their own date is 520 B.C. We have, however, already seen that such statues were erected as early as 564 B.C. These figures were not usually meant for portraits; Pliny tells us that only the statues of those who had won three times were likenesses of the victors.

We now come to a sculptor of great importance in the history of art, though little is known of his works, still less of his style. But his career seems to have extended over no less than sixty-five years. This is Ageladas of Argos, who in 520 B.C. made a bronze statue of an Olympian victor, and in 516 B.C. a chariot-group commemorating the victory of Kleosthenes of Epidamnos. The other limit of date is given by a statue of Zeus of Ithome, set up for the exiled Messenians at Naupaktos in 455 B.C. He also made a Herakles Alexikakos ('Preserver from Evil') which was afterwards set up at Athens to stay the plague of 430 B.C. His chief claim to distinction, however, is that he was said to have been the teacher of a great trio of sculptors: Myron, Pheidias, and Polykleitos. Apparently it was mainly on this that his fame rested; he was probably a great teacher without much individuality. There is some difficulty about dates in regard to this tradition, but it is not an impossibility, although Polykleitos was decidedly junior to the other two.

Other names of the Argive school are known to us, but one alone calls for special consideration. This is Kanachos, who made the great temple-statue of Apollo at Miletus (see p. 78). He was, strictly speaking, a native of Sikyon, but worked with Ageladas. This statue was of bronze, and he made a similar one in cedar-wood of Apollo Ismenios, the patron of Thebes. Of the Milesian statue we know something from late coins of that city and from a bronze statuette in the British Museum, which is an accurate copy of not very much later date. The figure carried or held a deer in his hand, but in the

bronze statuette this animal is rendered on such an absurdly small scale as to look more like a rabbit!

Kanachos, like Ageladas, did not confine himself to athlete-statues, but in spite of his reputation we really know very little of his work. Cicero speaks of his style as being too stiff for truth of detail, and harder than that of Kalamis (see p. 90). In spite of the imperfections of this Argive school, it is much to be regretted that so little which can be attributed to it has been preserved.

With regard to the school of Aegina, however, we are more fortunate. It is a school which enjoyed a great reputation in antiquity, and in modern times there has been a tendency to attribute to it a wider range than it can claim. Pliny speaks highly of Aeginetan bronze, and the artistic activity of the island must have been great until it lost its independence about 455 B.C. The first sculptor mentioned is Kallon, a pupil of Tektaios and Angelion, who learned from Dipoinos and Skyllis; his date must be about the end of the sixth century. Quintilian alludes to the severity of his works, and couples him with Hegias of Athens, comparing his style to that of the Etruscans. Few works by him are recorded.

But the most famous of all Aeginetan sculptors was Onatas, whose reputation spread all over the Mediterranean, bringing him commissions from Sicily, Italy, and Asia Minor, as well as Greece. He was obliged on one occasion to reproduce the primitive style of a statue of Demeter with a horse's head at Phigaleia; this, however, was an isolated instance. His most important work was a group of statues dedicated at Delphi which represented the death of the king of Iapygia in battle and the fight over his body. Inscriptions show that he and Kallon were working at Athens previously to the sack in 480 B.C., and a chariot which he made for Hiero of Syracuse may be even more recent in date. A work of his dedicated by the Achaeans at Olympia represented various Homeric heroes, and shows a tendency to go back to heroic scenes and types in order to commemorate contemporary historical events. This is generally characteristic of Greek art and poetry.

This school seems to combine in its characteristics the athletic traditions of the Peloponnese and the originality of Athenian art; this is however natural, owing to its geographical position and political history. We can now turn to a monument in which its style appears to be fully exemplified, and that too when it had reached its highest perfection. This is the principal temple in the island of Aegina,

formerly known as that of Athena, but shown by recent discoveries to have been dedicated to Artemis Aphaia. The sculptured groups in the pediments of this temple were unearthed in 1811, and are now in the Glyptothek at Munich, having been largely restored by Thorwaldsen. A few additions have been made from the recent excavations, but nothing of special importance.

These sculptures are supposed to have been erected shortly after B.C. 480 in commemoration of the battle of Salamis, in which the Aeginetans performed prodigies of valour. The eastern pediment, which represents an expedition made against Troy before the war by Herakles and Telamon, is more elaborate than the western, but not so well preserved; in the latter a similar subject is displayed, the fight of Greeks and Trojans over the body of Patroklos. In each case an Aeginetan hero is commemorated, in the eastern, Telamon, in the western, Achilles; thus illustrating the principle referred to above as characteristic of Greek art. The arrangement of the figures in the pediments is not absolutely certain, but that adopted by Thorwaldsen has been generally adhered to; reproductions in plaster on a reduced scale may be seen in the Archaic Room of the British Museum.

The two pediments being so much alike, it may suffice to describe the scheme of the western only, as the more complete of the two. In the centre is the figure of Athena, the protecting deity of the Greeks (as in Homer), a somewhat stiff figure, with couched spear, and shield on left arm. At her feet lies a fallen warrior, usually named Patroklos, whose body one from each side endeavours to snatch away, under the protection of a spearman.[1] As the top of the pediment contracts more and more, these figures are followed by two kneeling, a bowman and a spearman; the bowman on the Trojan side is in Oriental costume, with Phrygian cap, and trousers, and may fairly be named Paris. Lastly, a wounded warrior lies in each corner of the pediment.

What first strikes the observer is the ingenuity with which the figures are fitted into the pediment, and also the arrangement by which the action is concentrated and increases towards the centre; these are two points in which the Greeks always excelled, as will be seen in the composition of later pedimental groups. The individual figures, especially those who stoop to grasp the fallen warriors, may be taken as typical of the Aeginetan proficiency in the treatment of nude male forms; if not in this case athletes, they yet show the perfect proportion

[1] See for this group Plate XXVIII., upper figure.





FIGURES FROM THE AEGINA PEDIMENTS:

1. CENTRAL GROUP FROM WESTERN
2. DYING WARRIOR, FROM EASTERN

(MUNICH MUSEUM)

of the well-trained athlete. The modelling of the muscles is admirable, and the forms are lithe and supple, free from any superfluity of flesh. Moreover, the strenuous and vigorous action shown in their attitudes denotes a new departure from the archaic stiffness and convention of pose that have hitherto obtained. Nor are the figures of the fallen warriors less meritorious; in particular one on the left of the east pediment is a masterpiece in its exhibition of overwhelming yet controlled suffering, as indicated by the clenched teeth, drawn lips, and contracted knee.[1] It is the first genuinely successful attempt of Greek art to reproduce bodily emotion, and in its reserve contrasts most favourably with the exaggerated realism of similar figures in the third century B.C., such as the Dying Gaul (p. 130). Generally speaking, the style of the eastern pediment is more advanced than that of the western, but the similarity is too great to allow of the supposition that they are not the work of one sculptor.

Whether this sculptor was Onatas, the principal representative of the Aeginetan school, cannot of course be definitely ascertained; but it is at least exceedingly probable. We know, at all events, that he made works of the same kind, the two large groups referred to above, and that the date of the pediments is that of the height of his career.

Among other works which, on good grounds, have been attributed to this school are the so-called Strangford Apollo in the British Museum, a figure of the type of the pediments, and a remarkable bronze head of a bearded man from the Athenian Acropolis. The latter is certainly the finest existing archaic work in bronze, the material which, as we know, the Aeginetan sculptors favoured.

It would not be right to conclude this chapter without some notice of the recent discoveries at Delphi, so far as they bear on this period; the most important specimens of archaic sculpture are from the decoration of the 'Treasuries' in which the various Greek states deposited their offerings on the Sacred Way, more particularly those of the Sikyonians, Athenians, and Knidians. The metopes of the Sikyonian treasury date from the early part of the sixth century, and are a good example of the Dorian school. One representing Europa on the bull presents an interesting parallel to that from Selinus figured on Plate XXII., another depicts the ship *Argo*, and a third has a remarkable scene of three heroes driving cattle back from a raid.

[1] Plate XXVIII., lower figure.

In this Treasury there were also found two early 'Apollo' statues (cf. p. 76) by Argive sculptors.

The Treasury of the Athenians, erected from the spoils of Marathon, comes next in date. The metopes, which portray the labours of Theseus and Herakles, may be instructively compared with the contemporary red-figured vases of 'severe' style (p. 176); they partake more of the character of decorative art than the vigorous athletic compositions of the Parthenon.

Almost contemporaneous with this is the Treasury now usually assigned to the Knidians, which has a sculptured pediment and frieze. The former has for its subject the rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles, but the composition is utterly unsuited for a pediment, being in the form of a procession, and therefore more appropriate to a frieze; there is no balance of figures or concentration of interest. The frieze is very diverse in style and subject, and has been described as a 'gallery of reliefs.' On the west side is the Apotheosis of Herakles; on the south, the rape of the Leukippidae by Castor and Pollux; on the east, the combat of Menelaos and Hector over Euphorbos.[1] The best work is seen in the northern frieze, where the subject is the battle of the gods and giants, the former including Aeolus with his bag of winds and Kybele in her chariot drawn by lions. It shows great vigour both in composition and in the details, and its style seems to be a peculiar development of the Ionic school under the influence of the Doric.[2]

[1] Cf. the vase given on Plate LXX.

[2] See generally Gardner's *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, Suppl. p. 527 ff.

CHAPTER VI

PHEIDIAS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Rise of monumental sculpture—Kalamis, Pythagoras, and Myron—The Olympia sculptures—Pheidias—The sculptures of the Parthenon—Other Attic sculptures and sculptors—Polykleitos—Architectural monuments.

WITH the conclusion of the last chapter we reached the important epoch of the Persian Wars, immediately heralding the time when Greek sculpture in its perfected form suddenly burst forth upon the world. The long period of training is over, and the various schools of art scattered over Greece have performed their task of developing artistic skill and creative genius in its various directions. Now for a time, as it were, they stand aside, and Athens, the acknowledged political and military head of Greece, also takes her place as supreme in all branches of art. The Persian Wars indeed proved a blessing in disguise, for the sack of the Acropolis in 480 B.C., and the destruction of buildings and statues, gave an extraordinary impetus to the genius of this wonderful people, and impelled them to undertake with enthusiasm the labour of rendering their city even more beautiful than before. And working throughout the products of this new artistic movement a strong religious and patriotic motive is apparent, from the sculptures of Aegina down to the completion of the adornment of the Athenian Acropolis; more than one of the buildings of this period was raised with the express purpose of commemorating the great victories, and the same idea runs through all their sculptured decoration. The subjects represented—combats between Europeans and Asiatics, gods and giants, Greeks and Amazons, or Lapiths and Centaurs—are all chosen as emblematic of the great struggle from which the Greeks had emerged victorious, and of a deliverance from tyranny. At Athens, too, political circumstances tended to encourage artistic production, with the treasures derived from the Delian confederacy, and under the favouring auspices of two such men as Kimon and Pericles.

PHEIDIAS AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

Before treating of Pheidias and the great monumental sculptures associated with his name, it may be more convenient, as well as more strictly chronological, to discuss a group of sculptors who flourished during the period 480-440 B.C., and really furnish a connecting link with the great names of the earlier Athenian and Aeginetan schools. To the same period belongs a series of temple-sculptures which stand midway between Aegina and the Parthenon.

The first of these sculptors is Kalamis, generally regarded as an Athenian, who has indeed sometimes been classed among the archaic sculptors, but at least stands on the threshold of the perfected style, combining some archaic characteristics, such as quaintness and severity, with grace and power of expression. He was a very versatile and prolific sculptor, working in marble, bronze, and gold and ivory, and showed a great advance in the rendering of feminine drapery. Some of his subjects, such as his Hermes carrying the ram, seem to indicate a preference for old-fashioned types. His most famous production, the Aphrodite Sosandra, is singled out for special commendation by Lucian, who speaks of its modesty, its noble and unconscious smile, and the comely arrangement of its drapery. Cicero and Quintilian speak of his work as still preserving a measure of archaic stiffness, yet comparing favourably with the Aeginetan and Sikyonian schools. His active period cannot be ascertained with certainty, but seems to have been from about 480 to 450 B.C.

Although there are no existing works of art which can be certainly connected with Kalamis, there are at least three which have been thought to represent his style. These are the Giustiniani Hestia at Rome, the Ludovisi throne, and the recently-discovered bronze charioteer from Delphi. The last named, the finest known example of a Greek bronze statue, and the only life-size figure existing in this material from so early a date, was dedicated by Hieron, King of Syracuse, after one of his victories in the Pythian games, and represents his charioteer Polyzalos.[1] It is a beardless figure, wearing the long girdled chiton in which charioteers were always clad, which falls in straight formal folds to the feet, and it is in almost perfect preservation. The drapery of the Hestia is treated in very similar fashion.

The Ludovisi throne[2] is ornamented with reliefs, those on the

[1] See Plate XXVIII.

[2] See *Römische Mittheil.* 1892, pl. 2, p. 32 ff., and *Journ. Hellen. Stud.* xiv. p. 202. It is now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome (Amelung, *The Museums of Rome*, pp. 2, 260). Plate XXIX. illustrates the back.



THE BRONZE CHARIOTEER FROM DELPHI



THE LUDOVISI THRONE
(MUSEO DELLE TERME, ROME)

sides representing a courtesan playing flutes and a priestess burning incense, that at the back the birth of Aphrodite, who appears as a half-figure rising from the sea with the aid of two Horae (Seasons); the two side figures may be typical of profane and sacred love. The treatment of the hair and drapery in fine parallel waved lines is what we might expect of Kalamis, though it must not be ignored that some have thought the throne to be an archaistic work; but both the shape of the heads and the style of the drapery resemble the Giustiniani Hestia. But after all we do not really know much of the style of Kalamis, and such attributions can only be mere guess-work. Pliny records a curious story that he was much more successful in his figures of horses than in those of men, and that in a chariot-group designed by him the driver was made by another artist, named Praxiteles; but he attributes the origin of this story to jealousy, and in any case it need hardly be taken seriously as bearing on the Delphi charioteer and its relation to Kalamis.

Of his contemporary, Pythagoras of Rhegion, much the same may be said; of him, in fact, we know even less than of Kalamis. His fame rested on subjects curiously neglected by Kalamis, namely statues of heroes and athletes, and no divinities are included in the list. Pliny alludes to his success in rendering veins and sinews, and in the treatment of the hair, and it is evident that he inherited the traditions of the Peloponnesian athletic schools. Other writers speak of him as a master of symmetry and rhythm. From an inscribed base found at Olympia we know that he originally came from Samos. His two most famous productions were a lame man 'who seemed to make even the spectator feel the pain of the wound,' and a statue of the boxer Euthymos of Locri in Italy, who won three victories at Olympia previous to 472 B.C. The former statue has sometimes been identified with Philoctetes. In regard to the latter it has been suggested[1]—and is for many reasons extremely probable—that the well-known Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo in the British Museum, and its counterpart, the 'Apollo on the omphalos' at Athens, may be identified with this Euthymos. Both statues have, as Payne Knight observed nearly a century ago, much more the character of a muscular athlete than of an Apollo.

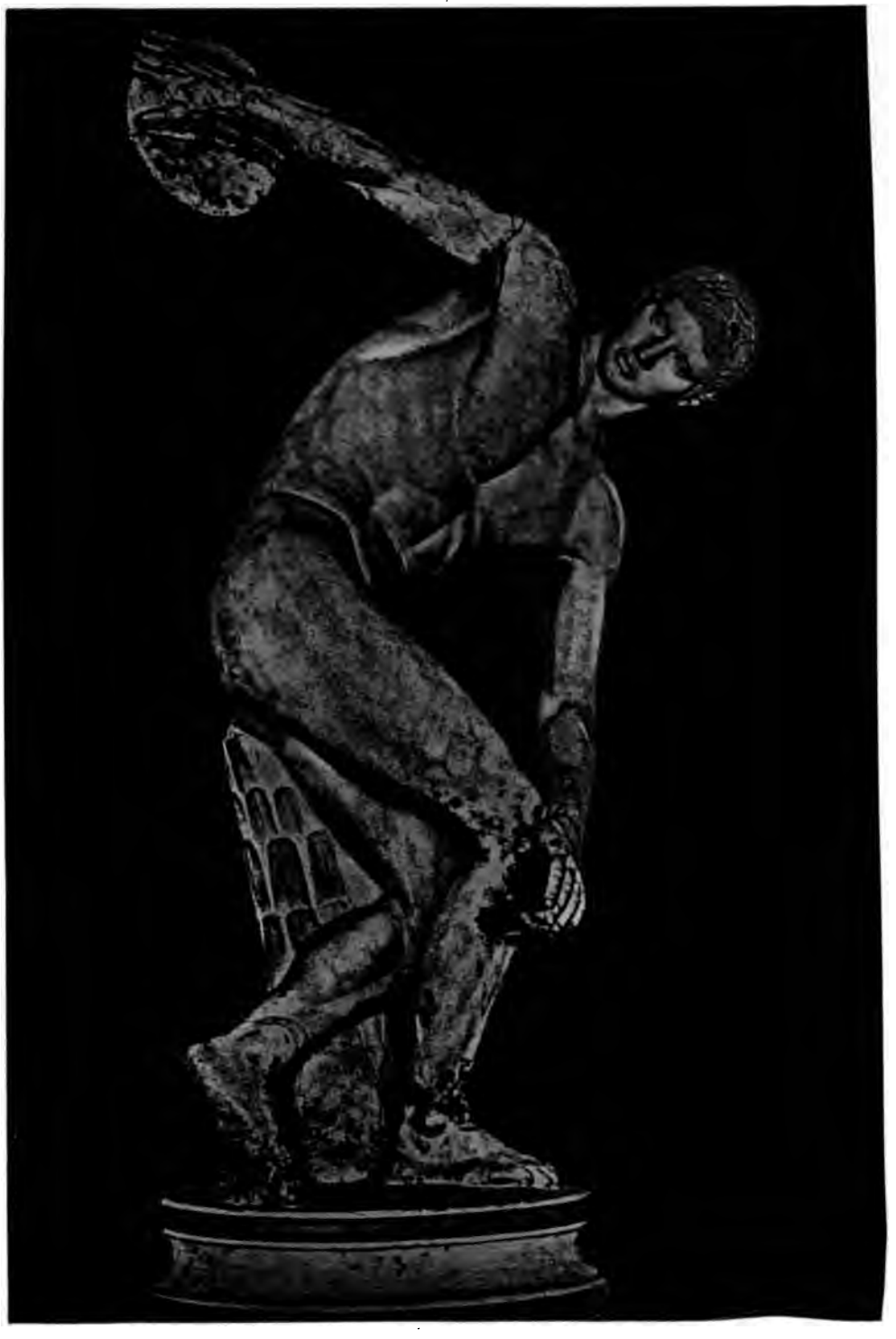
A third artist who ranks chronologically with these two, though far excelling them, not only in reputation but in actual merit, is Myron, a native of Eleutherae in Boeotia, but by residence an Athenian.

[1] See *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, i. p. 168 ff.

Not only was he one of the most famous sculptors in antiquity, but one of his works, the renowned Diskobolos, is at the present day almost the best-known example of Greek sculpture of this period, if not of all times. We are more fortunate in his case than in the two preceding, for we not only possess several admirable copies of this statue, but also one or more of another famous work, the Marsyas. On the other hand, the wonderful cow or heifer, so often sung of by later poets of Greece and Rome, can only now be reproduced by the imagination. Like Kalamis, he was both versatile and prolific, the range of his subjects including gods, heroes, athletes, such as the runner Ladas, and animals; he worked exclusively in bronze.

All his works were much praised for their freedom and naturalism, and for the life-like attitudes and complexity of movement, such as we see in the Diskobolos. His great merit is that to the principle of Symmetry in which alone earlier artists had been content to excel, he added that of Rhythm or Balance. Pliny says of him: 'Myron was the first to extend the range of observation of nature, and was more versatile than Polykleitos . . . yet he concerned himself only with the body, and did not express mental feelings. In the rendering of the hair he made no advance on archaic models.' Quintilian says that the Diskobolos is chiefly to be admired for the novelty and difficulty of the subject, and that any one who found fault with its studied contortion would thereby disqualify himself as a critic.

The Diskobolos is remarkable as representing not merely an action but a single moment in the course of that action; it is therefore at first sight somewhat puzzling, if not eccentric, that such a moment should be chosen when the figure is so distorted, and could not, if alive, maintain such a position for more than a few seconds. It is in fact an 'instantaneous photograph,' and shows us, as do other works such as the horses of the Parthenon frieze, what close observers of nature the Greeks were, even without the scientific aids that the moderns have ready to hand. It is almost impossible to explain the attitude in words, and yet it is exactly the position that the quoit-thrower was bound to adopt at a certain point while gathering impetus for the throw, as it is described by Lucian: 'bending down into the position for the throw, turning towards the hand that holds the disc, slightly bending one knee, he seems just about to pull himself together again after the throw.' It must be borne in mind that the head in several copies (including one in the British Museum) has been wrongly restored, and should be looking up to the right hand, other-



THE DISKOBOLOS OF MYRON
(PALAZZO LANCELOTTI, ROME)





FIGURES FROM THE WEST PEDIMENT, TEMPLE OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA

wise the balance could not be maintained. The only correct copy is that in the Lancelotti collection at Rome, of which an illustration is here given.[1]

His other famous statue, the Ladas, represented a winner of the long foot-race at Olympia, who died from over-effort. It is said to have expressed by the tension of the limbs and breathless lips the eager expectation of the victory for which he is about to contend. The Marsyas represented the Satyr of that name wondering at the flutes which Athena had let fall, and formed a group with the figure of the goddess. According to the story he picked them up and challenged Apollo to a contest in which he failed miserably. The Marsyas figure is preserved to us in two copies, a marble at Rome and a bronze in the British Museum. Here again we note the choice by the sculptor of a momentary action, the starting back of Marsyas at the instant when he finds the flutes and is confronted with their late owner. In spite of the interest of the subject, this group does not seem to have enjoyed the fame of the others.

The British Museum bronze is a spirited piece of work, bearing a close resemblance, especially in its pose, to the statue in the Vatican. It is true that it recalls Myron rather in its conception than in its treatment, this being especially conspicuous in the hair, with its rough and strongly-accentuated locks. Myron, we know, adhered to the conventions of the archaic period in his rendering of hair; but this head is much more in the manner of the Pergamene School, and the bronze can hardly be dated earlier than 300 B.C.

The great Doric temple of Zeus at Olympia, of which the ground plan has now been laid bare by the spade, was erected about the year 460 B.C., and was decorated with sculptured pediments and metopes, the greater part of which have also been recovered by excavation. The traveller Pausanias, who does not always give us just the information we most require about ancient buildings, is in this case most explicit. He not only tells us what were the subjects of the pediments, but gives us the names of the sculptors, Alkamenes of the western, Paionios of the eastern. By a provoking fate, however, the very explicitness of this statement here lands us in a great difficulty, for our knowledge of these two sculptors from other sources hardly supports his statement. Without plunging into the minutiae of criticism which this discrepancy has evoked, it may suffice here to say that these two artists were most likely only responsible for the

[1] See Plate xxx.

original designs, which were entrusted to a local school of sculptors for execution.

The eastern pediment represents the preparations for the chariot-race of Pelops and Oinomaos at Olympia, when the former was suing for the hand of the latter's daughter Hippodameia. The appropriateness of a local myth, in which was seen a prototype of the future contests in the games, is obvious. All the figures have been recovered, but their arrangement is a matter of some uncertainty, except as regards the central and terminal figures. The middle of the pediment was occupied by the figure of the patron deity Zeus, the umpire of the race, flanked on one side by Pelops and his future bride, on the other by Oinomaos and his wife Sterope. In the angles are reclining figures of river-gods, the local streams Alpheios and Kladeos. The spaces in between are filled by the chariots of the competitors with their drivers, and kneeling or seated figures. One of the latter, a pensive, aged man, whose features are treated in most realistic, almost portrait-like fashion, has been thought to represent Myrtilos, the treacherous charioteer of Oinomaos; but more probably he is a seer. This is the pediment attributed to Paionios, but the style of the sculptures has little in common with an existing statue that we have from his hand (see p. 108).

The western pediment, though very similar in style, is startlingly different in composition. The rule is observed here as elsewhere that the eastern pediment of a temple should show less action than the western, and so we have, instead of a group of reposeful figures symmetrically disposed, a series of groups of struggling figures in violent action. The subject is the fight between the Lapiths and Centaurs at the wedding of Peirithoös, and the latter are represented carrying off the bride and her female associates. Here again the centre is occupied by a god, in this case Apollo, and in the angles are reclining figures of nymphs. In front of the latter are two more reclining figures, of somewhat realistically treated old women. On either side of the central figure are three groups of combatants, two of which represent Lapiths delivering women from the fury of their captors, and the remaining groups, a simple combat of a Lapith and a Centaur. In spite of the excited and vehement action, the symmetry and balance of the groups are wonderfully well preserved, and generally the parallelism of the two pediments is remarkable.[1]

The style of both, though often bold and vigorous, is very unequal,

[1] Plate xxxi. gives one of the reclining figures and the best group of Centaur and captive.

by far the finest figure being the Apollo of the western, in spite of its somewhat archaic character, which almost recalls the Aegina figures. On the other hand realism is, as has been noted, a prominent characteristic of the three elderly figures, the seer and the old women. It is probable, however, that colour was largely employed in these sculptures, which must have given the ancient spectator a very different impression from what we now feel. This inequality of treatment is most likely due to the employment of a local school of sculptors to execute the design, and that probably a school which, like others in the Peloponnese, had made athletic figures a speciality. But we must feel bound to accept the statement of Pausanias, at least in the sense that the original designs came from the two artists he mentions.

The sculptured metopes of this temple are singularly akin to the pediments, both in style and execution; they were placed, not over the outer colonnade, but over the inner columns, six at each end of the temple. They represent the twelve labours of Herakles, but are for the most part very fragmentary; those representing Herakles receiving from Atlas the apples from the garden of the Hesperides and the contest with the Cretan bull are alone in any way complete.[1] Both of these are very fine compositions, especially the vigorous conception of the struggle with the bull; the figures are noble and broadly treated, and the Atlas scene is enlivened by touches of naïve realism. Whether designed by the sculptors of the pediments or not, these metopes were certainly executed by the same local school.

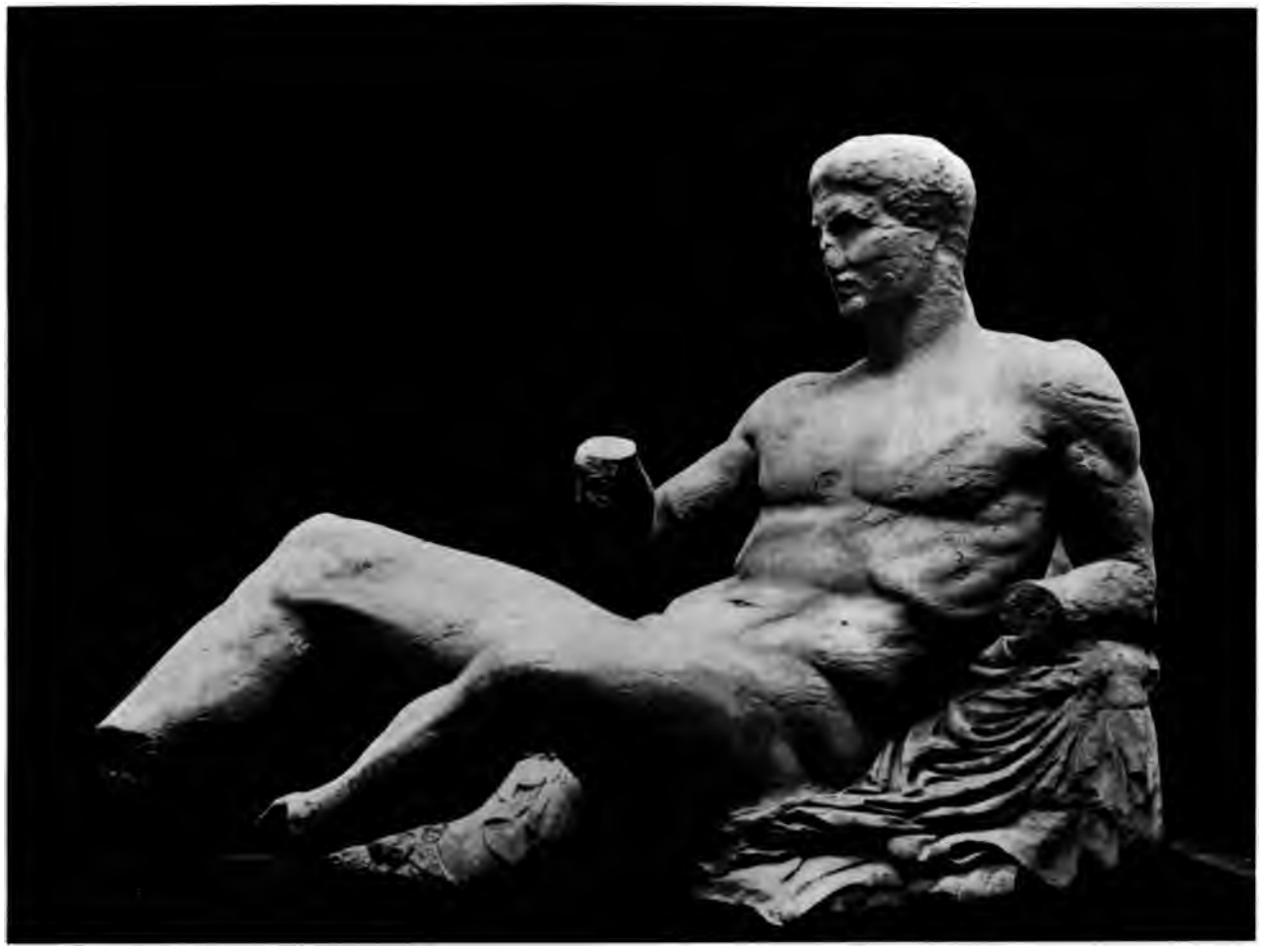
The works which we have been considering up to this point represent what is sometimes called the Kimonian period, that is, the time between the Persian Wars and the rise of the Athenian democracy under Pericles, which ousted Kimon and the aristocratic party from power. As far as Athens is concerned, this political change is the signal for a great artistic advance, fostered by the enthusiastic patronage of the great democratic leader, whose cultured mind displayed itself in the erection of many magnificent buildings and works of art. This period, from 450 to 430 B.C., is associated for all time with the great name of Pheidias (500-432 B.C.), to whom were entrusted the important tasks of decorating the new temple of Athena on the Acropolis and of executing the statue of the goddess to be placed therein.

[1] The former is given on Plate XXXII.

Not only was he one of the most famous sculptors in antiquity, but one of his works, the renowned Diskobolos, is at the present day almost the best-known example of Greek sculpture of this period, if not of all times. We are more fortunate in his case than in the two preceding, for we not only possess several admirable copies of this statue, but also one or more of another famous work, the Marsyas. On the other hand, the wonderful cow or heifer, so often sung of by later poets of Greece and Rome, can only now be reproduced by the imagination. Like Kalamis, he was both versatile and prolific, the range of his subjects including gods, heroes, athletes, such as the runner Ladas, and animals; he worked exclusively in bronze.

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THE "THESEUS," FROM THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



THE GROUP OF "THREE FATES" FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON

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[1] See Plate xxx.

of mild benignity. The sculptor himself claimed to have illustrated by his conception the words of Homer:—

> 'He spake and the dark brows bent for the mighty promise sealed.
> Waved round the deathless head of his majesty full revealed
> The ambrosial locks, and mighty Olympos rocked and reeled.'
>
> A. S. Way.

The opinion of Quintilian, that the beauty and divine majesty of the figure added something to the received religion, has already been quoted (p. 7). It was, in fact, regarded as one of the seven wonders, and as the greatest work in sculpture, of the ancient world, one that exercised a lofty, religious influence on all beholders. Not only was the drapery richly embroidered, but the throne was inlaid with various precious materials, and every available space was covered with decoration, the arms, legs, and supports taking the form of Sphinxes, Victories, Graces, and Seasons. Besides reliefs along the edges and cross-bars, the lower part was surrounded with a screen adorned with paintings by Pheidias's brother Panainos. From the description of Pausanias it may be inferred that the statue was approximately thirty-five feet in height.

In estimating the work of Pheidias as a whole, we note first the great change that he brought about in the creative instincts of Greek art. He was the first sculptor to produce ideal embodiments of the highest moral qualities of which a Greek could conceive, such as majesty, wisdom, or beauty, and to give a new meaning to the religious aspect of each type of divinity, as Quintilian said of the Zeus. Secondly, he was the first sculptor who combined this idealism with a perfect mastery over his material, thus producing a completer harmony than was attained by any before or since. The sculptor of the archaic period, like the pre-Raphaelites of the fourteenth century, was often full of religious enthusiasm which he could not express; the sculptor of the fourth or third century, like Rubens or Correggio, was a perfect master of technical expression, but the religious aspect of his art was not necessarily the first consideration; and thus, as we find the perfect combination in Raffaelle the painter, so we find it in Pheidias the sculptor.

Although we no longer possess any works actually from the hand of this great sculptor, there is yet one group of masterpieces which will always be associated with him, namely, the architectural sculptures of the Parthenon, the great Athenian temple, of which a description is

elsewhere given (p. 40). We know at all events that the decoration of the building was carried on under his direction, and we need not hesitate to see therein the evidence of the master-mind, if not of the master-hand.

The sculptures of the Parthenon, familiarly known as the Elgin marbles—at least that portion of them which was brought to England by Lord Elgin—consist of three distinct groups: the pedimental sculptures, east and west; the metopes over the outer colonnade; and the frieze running round the upper part of the *cella* inside the colonnade. We may observe in them a certain inequality of execution and variation of style which permit us to deduce the chronological order of their execution, and we shall probably not be wrong in regarding the metopes as the earliest of the three.

These metopes were originally 92 in number, 32 along each side of the building and 14 at each end; but excepting those of the south side they are very badly preserved, and it is not even possible to identify the subjects of those on the north side. Many remain *in situ* on the temple, and only fifteen were brought to England by Lord Elgin, all from the south side; but these are sufficient to enable us to estimate the artistic merits of the whole. The eastern appear to have represented scenes from the battle of the gods and giants, the western, combats of Greeks and Amazons; those on the south are almost all devoted to combats, in single groups, of Lapiths and Centaurs.

Generally speaking, considerable variation of style and composition is to be observed in these metopes: while some are dull and lifeless or somewhat awkwardly composed, others are full of life and vigour. In style and modelling, as well as in the composition, the same variety presents itself. It is therefore clear that they are the work of several hands, some of whom would appear to be still under the influence of the older 'athletic' schools, though others display considerable originality. The contrast between the calm dignity of the Lapiths and the ferocious bestiality of the Centaurs is in most cases brought out with remarkable skill; and equally worthy of attention is the ingenuity with which the ungainly bodies of the Centaurs are rendered, the lower half in profile, the upper or human half to the front; 'their movements are those of a high-bred horse under management.' The structural necessity of erecting the entablature of the building before the cornice and pediments leaves little room for doubt that the metopes were the first part of the sculptured decoration to be completed.

We have now no statues existing which can be attributed with certainty to the great master's hand; even the Parthenon sculptures cannot definitely be regarded as his work, although they undoubtedly reproduce his designs and were executed under his superintendence. But we are well supplied with literary records of his life and work, and the fact that he was selected to make the cult-statues for the two most magnificent temples of the period, and that these two statues, the Athena Parthenos and the Zeus of Olympia, were reckoned the finest known to the ancient world, leaves us no room for doubt as to his reputation with his contemporaries, or as to his having fully merited that reputation.

Pheidias was born about the year 500 B.C., and became, as we have seen, a fellow-pupil with Myron of Ageladas of Argos; he is also said to have been at first a painter. Several works are mentioned by ancient writers which he seems to have produced in his earlier years, notably the colossal bronze statue of Athena which stood in the open on the Acropolis and was visible at a great distance. As regards his later life, the information that we possess is considerable, but unfortunately much confused. Three main points can be disentangled with certainty: (1) that he worked for some time at Olympia and made the great statue of Zeus there; (2) that he was entrusted by Pericles with the superintendence of the rising Parthenon and other works on the Acropolis, during which time he made the Athena Parthenos; (3) that he got into trouble through accusations of peculation and sacrilege, and was tried and exiled. It seems more likely that his work at Olympia came after the Parthenon was completed and his reputation had spread over Greece; his disgrace was a purely political matter, and need not have prejudiced other states against employing him. The date of his death is not known, but we are told that he returned from Olympia to Athens and died in prison there about B.C. 432.

The statue of Athena Parthenos, which we may consider first of his works, was what is known as chryselephantine, or made of gold and ivory (see p. 59). The latter material was used for the nude parts of the figure, the gold for the drapery and accessories, the whole being erected on a wooden core. Although the statue was probably destroyed under the Byzantine empire, one or two copies have been preserved which give a fair idea of it, in spite of their immeasurable inferiority. The best is a statuette (unfortunately headless) found at Patras in the Peloponnese a few years ago; another was found in



METOPE FROM THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS, OLYMPIA: ATLAS AND HERAKLES



THE GROUP OF "THREE FATES" FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON

Athens in 1881, and a third, in an unfinished state, is also in the Athens Museum. Besides these we have a copy of the head in a gold relief from South Russia, and one of the sculptured shield of the goddess in the well-known Strangford shield in the British Museum. On this Pheidias introduced portraits of himself and Pericles, and it was for this reason that he was accused of sacrilege. The second of the three statuettes, known as the Varvakeion, is by far the most complete and detailed, but is unfortunately a most inferior work of art, belonging to the most debased period of the Roman Empire.[1]

With the aid, however, of these copies and of the literary records, we can reconstruct with fair success the magnificent presentment of the patron goddess of Athens. The goddess stood on a sculptured plinth holding out in her right hand a small figure of Victory and resting her left on her shield, round which twined her serpent Erichthonios. On her head was an elaborate helmet with triple crest, a Sphinx between two Gryphons, and on her breast the aegis with its Medusa-head and fringe of serpents. She wore, over her long chiton or tunic, the *peplos* or mantle which played such an important part in her annual Panathenaic festival, and on her feet were ornamented sandals. The effect of the whole, with the gold drapery, the tinted ivory of the face and features, and the various ornamental attributes, must have been gorgeous in the extreme.

We hear of another Athena made by Pheidias about this time, known as the Lemnian, of which Lucian speaks in terms of the highest commendation, especially for the beauty of the features. The goddess was represented holding her helmet in her hand, a motive which has been recognised on gems and vases, and was intended to present her in a more peaceful aspect than the Parthenos. An attempt has recently been made to identify this statue in existing examples,[2] but has not met with universal acceptance.

The great statue of Zeus at Olympia was, like the Athena, of gold and ivory. In spite of the description given by Pausanias, we know even less of it than of the Athena, no copies having survived, except some rough and unsatisfactory reproductions of the head and of the whole figure on late coins of Elis. But we know at least that the god was seated on an elaborately carved and decorated throne, with a sceptre in his left hand and surmounted by his eagle, and a Victory standing on the right, and that his face was expressive of majesty, yet

[1] See Plate xxxiii., and for the gold relief, Plate cix.

[2] See Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. gr. Plastik*, p. 4 ff.

of mild benignity. The sculptor himself claimed to have illustrated by his conception the words of Homer:—

> 'He spake and the dark brows bent for the mighty promise sealed.
> Waved round the deathless head of his majesty full revealed
> The ambrosial locks, and mighty Olympos rocked and reeled.'
>
> A. S. Way.

The opinion of Quintilian, that the beauty and divine majesty of the figure added something to the received religion, has already been quoted (p. 7). It was, in fact, regarded as one of the seven wonders, and as the greatest work in sculpture, of the ancient world, one that exercised a lofty, religious influence on all beholders. Not only was the drapery richly embroidered, but the throne was inlaid with various precious materials, and every available space was covered with decoration, the arms, legs, and supports taking the form of Sphinxes, Victories, Graces, and Seasons. Besides reliefs along the edges and cross-bars, the lower part was surrounded with a screen adorned with paintings by Pheidias's brother Panainos. From the description of Pausanias it may be inferred that the statue was approximately thirty-five feet in height.

In estimating the work of Pheidias as a whole, we note first the great change that he brought about in the creative instincts of Greek art. He was the first sculptor to produce ideal embodiments of the highest moral qualities of which a Greek could conceive, such as majesty, wisdom, or beauty, and to give a new meaning to the religious aspect of each type of divinity, as Quintilian said of the Zeus. Secondly, he was the first sculptor who combined this idealism with a perfect mastery over his material, thus producing a completer harmony than was attained by any before or since. The sculptor of the archaic period, like the pre-Raphaelites of the fourteenth century, was often full of religious enthusiasm which he could not express; the sculptor of the fourth or third century, like Rubens or Correggio, was a perfect master of technical expression, but the religious aspect of his art was not necessarily the first consideration; and thus, as we find the perfect combination in Raffaelle the painter, so we find it in Pheidias the sculptor.

Although we no longer possess any works actually from the hand of this great sculptor, there is yet one group of masterpieces which will always be associated with him, namely, the architectural sculptures of the Parthenon, the great Athenian temple, of which a description is

elsewhere given (p. 40). We know at all events that the decoration of the building was carried on under his direction, and we need not hesitate to see therein the evidence of the master-mind, if not of the master-hand.

The sculptures of the Parthenon, familiarly known as the Elgin marbles—at least that portion of them which was brought to England by Lord Elgin—consist of three distinct groups: the pedimental sculptures, east and west; the metopes over the outer colonnade; and the frieze running round the upper part of the *cella* inside the colonnade. We may observe in them a certain inequality of execution and variation of style which permit us to deduce the chronological order of their execution, and we shall probably not be wrong in regarding the metopes as the earliest of the three.

These metopes were originally 92 in number, 32 along each side of the building and 14 at each end; but excepting those of the south side they are very badly preserved, and it is not even possible to identify the subjects of those on the north side. Many remain *in situ* on the temple, and only fifteen were brought to England by Lord Elgin, all from the south side; but these are sufficient to enable us to estimate the artistic merits of the whole. The eastern appear to have represented scenes from the battle of the gods and giants, the western, combats of Greeks and Amazons; those on the south are almost all devoted to combats, in single groups, of Lapiths and Centaurs.

Generally speaking, considerable variation of style and composition is to be observed in these metopes: while some are dull and lifeless or somewhat awkwardly composed, others are full of life and vigour. In style and modelling, as well as in the composition, the same variety presents itself. It is therefore clear that they are the work of several hands, some of whom would appear to be still under the influence of the older 'athletic' schools, though others display considerable originality. The contrast between the calm dignity of the Lapiths and the ferocious bestiality of the Centaurs is in most cases brought out with remarkable skill; and equally worthy of attention is the ingenuity with which the ungainly bodies of the Centaurs are rendered, the lower half in profile, the upper or human half to the front; 'their movements are those of a high-bred horse under management.' The structural necessity of erecting the entablature of the building before the cornice and pediments leaves little room for doubt that the metopes were the first part of the sculptured decoration to be completed.

Of the two pedimental groups a brief record is made by Pausanias, who says: 'What is seen on the pediment on entering the temple relates to the birth of Athena; at the back is the contest of Poseidon and Athena for the land.' Fortunately, however, we are not forced to be content with the meagre description of the old traveller; for though the central groups in each case have practically disappeared—these being of course the most important parts of the composition—there yet remain the greater part of the surrounding figures in each case, to form one of the chief glories of the British Museum.

Of the eastern pediment, that relating to the birth of Athena, there remain ten figures out of twelve in a more or less perfect state; and of the western, though the figures are much more fragmentary, parts of nearly all have been preserved, even of the central figures. But a drawing made by Jacques Carrey in 1674, not long before the explosion which destroyed so much of the western side, gives a fairly complete presentment of the whole.[1] The central group of the eastern is hopelessly lost, having probably been destroyed when the building was converted into a Christian church; and attempts at a reconstruction have necessarily been a matter of some difficulty.

The eastern pediment was not only the more important, being over the entrance to the temple, but also, on the evidence of the existing remains, by far the more beautiful. It seems to have comprised twelve figures, regarding the identification of which endless theories have been propounded; but one or two admit of no doubt. As regards the central group, the evidence of existing representations must of course be taken into account. Although a frequent subject on vase-paintings, these must nevertheless be ignored, inasmuch as they are all of an earlier date, and the grotesque manner in which the goddess is represented as a diminutive figure emerging from the head of Zeus cannot be associated with the artistic instincts of a Pheidias. Rather we must assume that he was the creator of a new type, in which the goddess stood fully grown and fully armed before her sire, whose figure may have been balanced by that of Hephaistos, who, according to legend, assisted with his axe in achieving her birth.

The remaining figures form a series of sculptures unsurpassed by any in existence. The scene is supposed to take place in heaven, the time being sunrise; and therefore we have at one end of the pediment Helios (the Sun) rising in his four-horse chariot from the ocean, at the other end Selene (the Moon) or Nyx (Night) descending in hers. Facing

[1] Reproductions of Carrey's drawings of the two pediments are given in Figs. 12, 13.



THE "THESEUS," FROM THE EAST PEDIMENT OF THE PARTHENON
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



THE GROUP OF "THREE FATES" FROM EAST PEDIMENT OF PARTHENON



Fig. 12. The East Pediment. (Drawing by Jacques Carrey.)



Fig. 13. The West Pediment. (Drawing by Jacques Carrey.)

Helios is the well-known reclining figure which has from time immemorial been known as Theseus.[1] This name, however, rests on no reasonable grounds, and, having regard to the localising tendency of these two compositions, the suggestion of Brunn that the figure is a personification of Mount Olympos, on which the rays of the rising sun are striking, has much to recommend it. Next to this, which may be regarded as the noblest existing presentation of the nude male form, are two seated figures of women in richly-disposed draperies, perhaps the Horae who guarded the gates of Olympos. On either side of the central group is a draped female figure in motion; these two have generally been identified as Iris, the messenger of the gods, proclaiming the news to the world, and Nike (Victory). Finally, between the Nike and the Selene or Nyx is an exquisite group of three seated women, the further of whom reclines on the lap of the second; these are usually known as the Three Fates, but they have no distinctive attributes, and the identification is not certain.[2]

In the western pediment the composition of the central group is much more certain. Not only have we the evidence of Carrey's seventeenth-century drawing (Fig. 13), but also a vase of about 400 B.C. on which it appears to be closely reproduced. The strife of Athena and Poseidon was a peculiarly Attic legend, closely associated with the Athenian Acropolis. The story was that both deities claimed the land of Attica, and that while Poseidon produced a spring of salt water in support of his claim, Athena produced an olive-tree: both these symbols were carefully preserved in the Erechtheion. The pediment then represented Athena in the act of producing the olive-tree, while Poseidon, whose spring was also represented, started back in amazement. This central group was bounded on either side by the four-horse chariots of the two combatants, driven respectively by Victory and by Amphitrite, the sea-god's consort. The attempts at identifying the rest of the figures have been endless, but it is most probable that they are all either local divinities and heroes, or else mere local personifications, such as river-gods, indicating the scene of action, like the Olympos. At all events the recumbent male figures at either end have generally been named after the two rivers of Athens, the Kephissos and the Ilissos, next to one of whom reclines the spring-nymph Kallirrhoe.[3]

[1] See Plate xxxiv.

[2] See Plate xxxv. for two of these figures.

[3] It is not certain which of these two figures is Ilissos, and which Kephissos; but the former would be more appropriately placed next to Kallirrhoe.





HORSEMEN FROM THE PARTHENON FRIEZE





TWO SLABS FROM EAST FRIEZE OF THE PARTHENON:
1. CENTRAL GROUP. 2. GROUP OF DEITIES

THE PARTHENON PEDIMENTS

In considering these pediments from the artistic point of view, both the composition and the style call for attention. In the balance of the figures there is a great advance on what we have already seen at Olympia; although in some respects less exact, it is more subtle, avoiding monotony by variations of detail, while yet retaining a general correspondence of figure to figure. This is perhaps best seen in the two intermediate groups of figures of the eastern pediment; on the left side we have one reclining separate figure and two seated together, but on the right the reclining figure is grouped with the nearest seated one. Another notable feature of this pediment is the manner in which the side figures are supposed to be affected by the great event taking place in the centre; those nearest to the figures of Iris and Victory appear to listen with interest to the announcement of the news, the two adjoining scarcely turn their heads, and the two reclining figures are not as yet affected at all.

In regard to the style, we find here the attainment of absolute perfection in the rendering of nude forms, as in the 'Theseus' and 'Ilissos,' and of drapery, as in the group of the 'Three Fates.' The nude forms stand equidistant from the Aegina pediments on the one hand and the Hermes of Praxiteles (see p. 117) on the other, free from the severity and stiffness of the one, and from the softness of the other; they are both round and firm, broad yet free from exaggeration. The draperies are unconventional, but not accidental, as they often are in the Olympia pediments; the grooves are worked deep, with sharp edges, yet there is no hardness, and the general effect is one of perfect harmony and pleasing richness. Nor must we omit to mention here the admirable modelling of the horses' heads, especially those of Selene (or Nyx) and Helios.

The question whether we may regard these sculptures as the work, wholly or in part, of Pheidias, is, of course, difficult to decide. That the general design was his can hardly be doubted, and it is clear that his influence is here far greater than in the metopes; but though he must have devoted to them much general supervision, it is hardly conceivable that while at work on his great statue of Athena he can have found sufficient time to execute so great a work as these with his own hand.

The frieze of the Parthenon, as already indicated, ran round the top of the outer wall of the *cella*, in a series of slabs sculptured in low relief; the greater part of it is now in the British Museum, but the western frieze still remains *in situ*, and other fragments are elsewhere.

Accustomed as we are to view it with ease almost on the level of the eye, it must be remembered that this magnificent work must have been less easily visible while the temple remained perfect, owing to its height from the ground and the rows of columns close in front of it. But it has been observed that the relief is generally higher in the upper part of the slabs than in the lower, and it is probable that a certain amount of light was reflected on to it from the marble pavement.

The subject represented is the Panathenaic procession, a feature of the games held every fourth year specially in honour of Athena. In this procession the *peplos*, or sacred robe of the goddess, was solemnly brought—woven anew on each occasion—to adorn her statue. It was accompanied by offerings and victims for sacrifice, under the guidance of the chief magistrates and a select concourse of young men and maidens. In the frieze the procession is conceived as starting from the western side, which is occupied by knights making ready themselves and their horses, and advancing along the north and south sides till the two lines converge upon the east.[1] Here, before the culminating point is reached in the central group, the continuity is broken by two groups of seated deities, chiefly of the inner Olympian circle, whose presence in the line of the procession may at first sight seem strange. But it is possible that, as the late A. S. Murray suggested, they are, in accordance with an artistic convention, really to be conceived as in the background, presiding over the scene. To represent this with the correct perspective might have been easy in a picture, at least in modern art, but the Greeks had not yet attained to such a knowledge of perspective in painting,[2] and therefore, in sculpture, the task was quite beyond even a Pheidias.

On the two long sides the composition of the processions is as follows: Next to the group of Knights still engaged in preparation follow companies of the same already on their way, preceded by armed warriors in chariots; in front of these are bodies of men in various capacities, and then a series of victims led up for sacrifice, cows on the south side, on the north both cows and sheep. As the procession turns the eastern corners we see the maidens with their sacrificial vessels and other *insignia*, such as chairs, advancing to meet the archons and other officials. The two groups of deities, seven figures on either side,

[1] Plate xxxvi. gives two slabs from the procession of knights.

[2] In contemporary vase-paintings the presence of deities is similarly indicated; but on those of the succeeding age the gods are usually placed on a line above the main design, as spectators from above.

cannot all be identified with absolute certainty, but the names most generally given are these (from corner to centre): on the left, Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, Ares, Iris, Hera, and Zeus; on the right, Aphrodite with Eros, Demeter, Dionysos, Poseidon, Hephaistos, and Athena, who with Zeus holds the post of honour.[1]

The central group[2] has been the subject of much discussion, as there is some uncertainty as to the action represented. The main figure is that of a priest folding a large garment or piece of drapery with the assistance of a boy; but though it is obvious that the *peplos* of the goddess must be intended, it is not equally clear why it should be folded up. Perhaps the best explanation is that the priest is folding up and putting away the old *peplos* preparatory to the reception of the new one; but it is certainly curious that the latter should not appear at all on the frieze.

Hardly less than the pediments, the frieze is entitled to be regarded as the conception of the master-mind of Pheidias, whose genius is equally apparent in style and composition, though the same objection applies, that he can hardly have been responsible for its execution with his own hand. At all events the unity of the design is unmistakable, a unity which is yet full of variety in the individual figures with their differences of pose and action, the whole presenting a marvellous combination of dignified repose, as in the group of deities, and rapid action, as in the procession of horsemen. Every figure in the frieze will repay close study; and yet a no less satisfactory result may be gained if it is only regarded as a whole, as it is possible to do in the Elgin Room of the British Museum, with the arrangement there adopted. The technical skill of the craftsman is mainly exhibited in the skilful manner in which the low relief is treated, an appearance of roundness being given to the figures by a slight inclination of the surface of the reliefs. Not only in vigour and majesty, but also in delicacy and grace, the frieze of the Parthenon is unequalled as a work of art.

The latter half of the fifth century was marked at Athens by the erection and adornment of other beautiful buildings besides the Parthenon; these are described in our chapter on Architecture, but their sculptured decoration also demands attention. Chief among them is the so-called Theseion, which was originally thought to be the building erected to receive the bones of the Attic hero Theseus in 469 B.C.

[1] The group in Plate XXXVII. (upper figure), represents the deities on the extreme right.

[2] See *ibid.*, lower figure.

But the true dedication of the building is very doubtful,[1] and at all events the sculpture does not appear to be earlier in date than that of the Parthenon. This consists of two friezes, eastern and western, and a series of eighteen metopes, ten on the east front, and four adjoining on each side. The rest of the metopes may have been painted, but were certainly never sculptured. In style they closely suggest those of the Parthenon; the subjects are partly from the Labours of Herakles (as at Olympia), partly from those of Theseus. Clearly there is no indication of any special prominence being given to the latter hero either in the metopes, or, as we shall see, in the friezes. Unfortunately the metopes have suffered greatly from exposure—they have always remained *in situ*—and we can learn more about them from the drawings made by eighteenth-century travellers than from the existing remains. The friezes also recall the style of the Parthenon metopes, and the subject of the western is the same, a battle of Greeks and Centaurs. It has been suggested that the artist must have been one used to the designing of metopes, for he has unconsciously introduced a similar arrangement into his frieze, breaking the figures up into distinct isolated groups. The subject of the eastern frieze has been disputed, but it apparently represents a combat of Greeks with some kind of barbarians, with a group of deities as spectators in the background.

The little temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis appears to have been erected about the middle of the fifth century, but its sculptured decoration was not added till a later date. The main frieze of the building, which, the architecture being Ionic, takes the place of the Doric metopes, represents a combat of Greeks and barbarians, with deities as spectators, like that of the Theseion. Here, however, the subject is most probably to be identified as having reference to the war between Greece and Persia, perhaps to the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. Round the platform on which the temple stood was a balustrade decorated with a seated figure of Athena and a series of figures of Victory, all in relief. The latter, who are represented as erecting trophies, sacrificing oxen, and in other poses, are exceedingly beautiful figures, full of grace, and the treatment of the drapery is truly exquisite. One figure, of a Victory raising one foot to fasten her sandal, stands out above the rest in this respect, with its lovely reproduction of draperies falling in rich and graceful folds, yet so transparent that every outline of the form beneath is revealed.[2]

[1] The names now most generally favoured are those of Hephaistos and Apollo Patroös.

[2] See Plate XXXVIII.



CARYATID FROM THE ERECHTHEION
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



VICTORY FROM THE BALUSTRADE OF THE NIKE TEMPLE, ATHENS

THE ERECHTHEION

The third fifth-century temple on the Acropolis, of which remains exist, is the Erectheion, completed in 409 B.C. Its frieze is interesting rather from its technique than in other respects, being very fragmentary; the figures are carved in Pentelic marble on a background of black stone. Of more importance from the artistic point of view are the six figures of Caryatides which supported the entablatures of the porch (see p. 48).[1] The question of the aesthetic appropriateness of substituting human figures for architectural supports has been much discussed, and the principle has been condemned both by Ruskin and the architect Fergusson. But regarding the figures apart from their surroundings, there can be no question of their beauty and dignity, combining strength and grace, and of the effective treatment of the drapery. It will be noticed that each has the knee nearest to the middle of the building bent, and rests the weight on the outer leg—a contrivance which gives an appearance of stability to the whole, and illustrates the Greek instinct for obtaining the right effect by simple means.

Several names of sculptors are given by ancient writers as representing the Attic schools of the fifth century, and some of these are described as pupils of Pheidias. The names of these are Agorakritos, Alkamenes, Kolotes, and Theokosmos. But for the most part these sculptors are mere names to us, and even when the subjects of their works are put on record, we are at a loss to associate them with any existing specimens of Greek art.

Agorakritos of Paros, said to have been Pheidias's favourite pupil, was the author of a famous statue of Nemesis (Vengeance) in the temple of that goddess at Rhamnus in Attica. He appears to have copied his master's style so successfully that many ancient cities were unable to distinguish between them. A few fragments of this statue have been preserved, and are now in the British Museum.

We have already had occasion to speak of Alkamenes in connection with the Olympia pediments, his share in the production of which has been seen to be somewhat doubtful. There are, however, a number of works of considerable fame in antiquity which were attributed to his hand. Of these the most important was the Aphrodite in the Gardens, which was very highly praised by Lucian, who conceived it as furnishing the hands and face for his ideal statue. His artistic career was apparently a long one, as he is known to have been at work at the end of the fifth century. Quintilian places him on a

[1] Plate xxxix. gives the one in the British Museum.

level with Pheidias for the nobility of his productions, and other writers are no less laudatory.

Hitherto our knowledge of Alkamenes rested entirely on literary evidence, but a recent discovery has placed us in a much more favourable position for judging of the character of his work. This is a terminal figure of a bearded Hermes, found in the German excavations at Pergamon in 1903-4, which bears the inscription: 'You shall see the exceeding fair statue of Alkamenes, the Hermes at the Gate.'[1] In itself a late Roman work, it is clearly a faithful copy of the original by Alkamenes, which, however, does not appear among his recorded works. But we know that a Hermes Propylaios was set up on the Acropolis at Athens in the middle of the fifth century. The figure preserves a somewhat archaic character, especially in the treatment of the hair in rows of formal curls, though it is possible that the religious character of such a statue[2] might account for this conservative feature. Hence it is not easy to date from the style, and scholars are not as yet agreed whether it represents Alkamenes' earlier or later manner.[3]

His supposed colleague at Olympia, Paionios of Mende, we are fortunate enough to be able to associate with an existing original work, found there *in situ*. Although a native of Northern Greece, he must have spent most of his artistic life at Olympia, as this statue is considerably later than the pedimental sculptures. It is not only mentioned by Pausanias, but the actual base with its dedicatory inscription has also been preserved. It is a statue of Nike (Victory), placed on a high triangular pedestal, and represented as floating down to earth. The occasion of its erection was after a victory of the Messenians and Naupactians over Sparta, probably with reference to the battle of Sphakteria in 424 B.C. The inscription also states that Paionios made the *akroteria* or ornaments on the gable of the temple of Zeus, which also were figures of Victory. The statue unfortunately is in a sadly mutilated condition, but the torso is entire, and in the sweeping draperies there is, in spite of a certain flabbiness, a very pleasing presentment of the effect of rapid motion.[4]

The sculptor Kresilas, a Cretan, has some claim to be reckoned as

[1] See Plate XL.

[2] It was of the same class as the Hermae which stood at every door in Athens and were greatly venerated. Hence the indignation at their mutilation in the time of Alcibiades.

[3] See *Sitzungsberichte d. k. preuss. Akad. d. Wissensch.* 1904, p. 69; *Athen. Mittheil.* 1904, pls. 18-21, pp. 179, 208; *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.* 1904, p. 22.

[4] See Plate XLI.





THE HERMES PROPYLAIOS OF ALKAMENES, FOUND AT PERGAMON, AND THE "MOURNING ATHENA" (ATHENS MUSEUM)



THE NIKE OF PAIONIOS
(OLYMPIA MUSEUM)

an Athenian artist, and his recorded works certainly connect him with Athens. They include a portrait of Pericles, of which an admirable replica exists in the British Museum[1]; it is somewhat idealised in conception, but simple and noble in treatment. There was also a statue of a wounded man on the point of death, which may be the same as one described by Pausanias of the Athenian general Diitrephes. He seems to have been represented in a staggering position, transfixed with arrows; the statue being of bronze, more scope was afforded for a contorted attitude.

Another Athenian, Kallimachos, was nicknamed *catatexitechnos*, or 'the niggler,' one who frittered away his skill over superfluous details, all his work being overdone and affected. He is also spoken of as the maker of a remarkable lamp in the Erechtheion, and as the inventor of a running drill for cutting deep lines and folds of drapery; and was traditionally regarded as the inventor of the Corinthian capital (see p. 50). Praxias, a pupil of Kalamis, designed and began the sculptures of the temple of Apollo at Delphi, of which we only know that in the eastern pediment were the Delphic deities, Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, with the Muses, and in the western, Dionysos and Bacchanals. The date would hardly be later than 450 B.C. Lykios, the son and pupil of Myron, was a fruitful sculptor, and made several bronze statues of a class which has been described as 'religious *genre*,' that is, of boys performing various offices in connection with the service of a temple. Strongylion, a little-known sculptor, was especially skilled in horses and bulls, and made a colossal bronze representation of the wooden horse of Troy. He also created the type of Artemis familiar in later Greek art.

In the history of Greek sculpture during the latter part of the fifth century one name stands out as almost rivalling that of Pheidias; what the latter was to the Athenian schools of art, Polykleitos was to that of Argos. The earlier history of the school has already been touched upon, and we have seen that, like the other Dorian schools, it was always pre-eminent for its representations of athletes. In this respect Polykleitos not only upheld but perfected the ancient traditions.

A native of Sikyon, he lived and worked at Argos; the time of his activity being about 440 to 410 B.C. He is said to have been a pupil

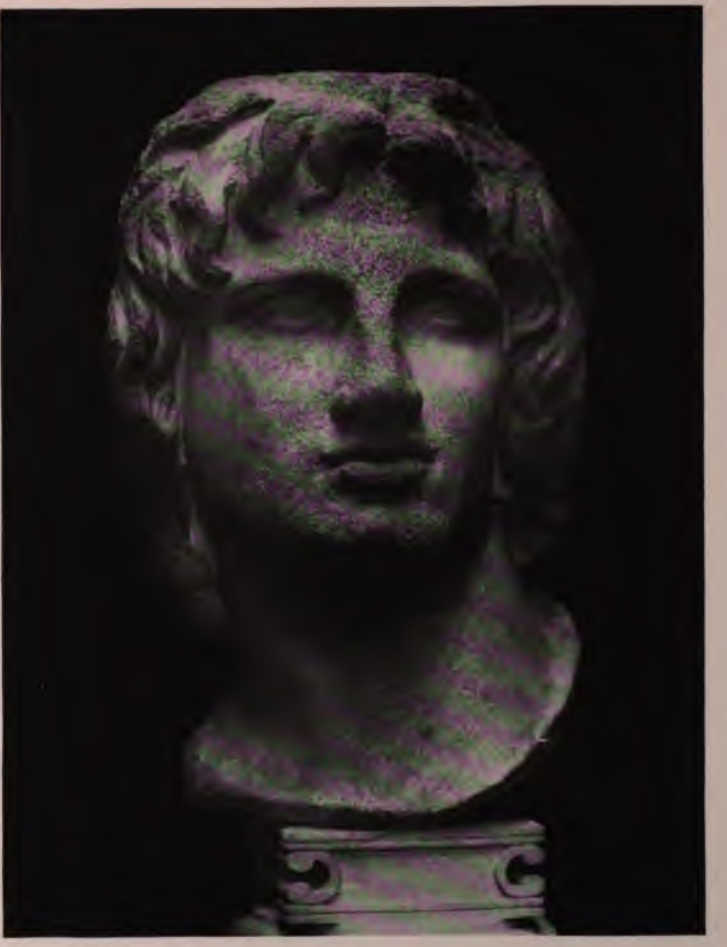
[1] Plate XLII., Fig. 1; the accompanying bust of Alexander is grouped with this to show the different conception of portraiture prevailing in the age of that King, individualism replacing idealism (see p. 124).

of the Argive Ageladas (see p. 84), which, in spite of the difference of dates, is not impossible. But he was certainly younger than Pheidias, who, as Pliny says, 'opened the door to the knowledge which Polykleitos acquired and perfected.' His greatest work was the temple-statue of Hera for her temple near Argos, which was rebuilt about 423 B.C., a chryselephantine work of which rough copies appear on coins of Argos, and which was considered a worthy counterpart to Pheidias' Zeus. She was represented on her throne, holding a pomegranate (as emblem of fertility), and a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo (as emblem of marriage), and wearing an ornamental crown. The head known as the Farnese Hera has been thought to be a copy from this statue.

But the fame of Polykleitos rests rather on his statues of heroic figures and athletes, more particularly the latter. He worked almost exclusively in bronze, a material better suited for the latter class of subject, as was also recognised by Myron and Lysippos. Among the former the most famous was a wounded Amazon, which, according to report, was made in competition with Pheidias and Kresilas for the temple at Ephesus, our sculptor being adjudged the first prize. However this may be, there are in existence several figures of Amazons, which may be recognised as replicas of fifth-century types, even if the originals were not those of the tradition. They have been classified under three main types, the first of which is clearly a wounded Amazon, and equally clearly the most Polycleitan. It presents many parallels of style with some of his best known works. In this type the Amazon leans on a pillar with the right hand over the head, the wound being indicated on her right breast, and less directly by the expression of her face.

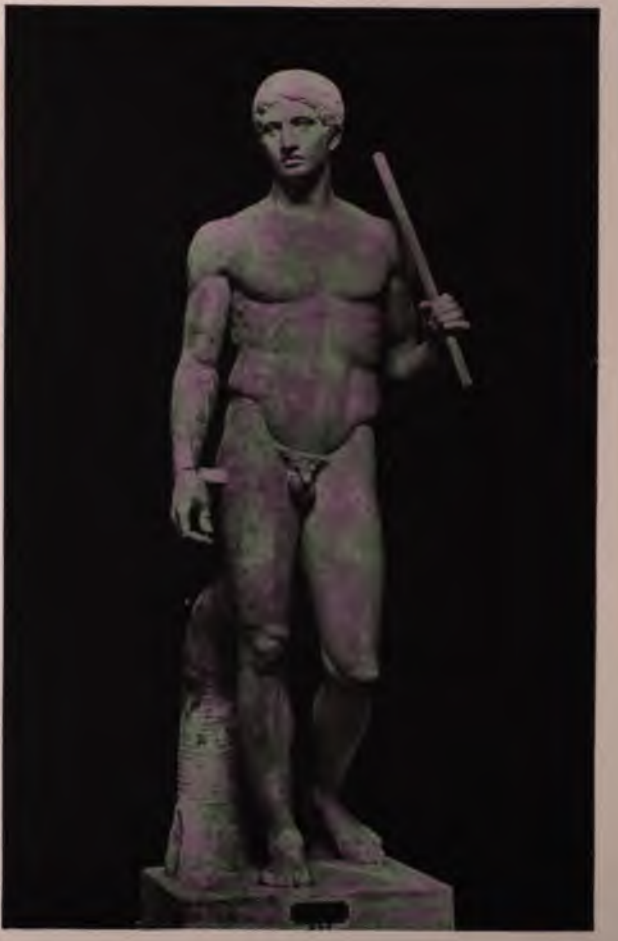
In the second type the Amazon stands with right arm raised, having probably held a spear, while with her left she holds her tunic away from a similar wound. The third type is not wounded, but she holds a spear or bow in both hands. Replicas of the first type are to be seen in the collections at Lansdowne House and Petworth, one of the second in the British Museum. The peculiarly Polycleitan characteristics of the first type are the general squareness of the figure, with its athletic, almost virile proportions; the absence of any strong emotion or expression of suffering; and the pose with all the weight on one foot. Whether the two other types can be attributed to the sculptors who competed with Polykleitos is open to question.





BUSTS OF PERICLES AND ALEXANDER THE GREAT
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





THE DIADUMENOS AND DORYPHOROS OF POLYKLEITOS

But the really typical works of this sculptor are his two famous statues of athletes, the Diadumenos, or victorious athlete binding his hair with a fillet, and the Doryphoros or spear-bearer. In these two typical figures he laid down a law of human proportions, and the latter was actually known as the Canon, or standard of form. Pliny describes them as a boyish young man and a manly boy. Of both there exist undoubted replicas,[1] mostly not earlier than the Graeco-Roman period, though a Diadumenos head in the British Museum can hardly be much later in date than the original. Apart from the fact that bronze necessarily loses much of its character when translated into marble, we must make considerable allowance for the tendency of the copyist to exaggerate and obscure the original forms, and some of the copies are decidedly heavy and mechanical. Nevertheless we can trace in these two figures the delineation of a fully-developed young athlete, whose muscles are rendered with a vigour and accuracy to which no other sculptor attained.

But with all his excellences Polykleitos is not a satisfying artist, and there is a lack of 'soul' and ideality about his works which impels us to regard him as an academic sculptor, in no sense a genius. In viewing the range of his subjects as a whole, we note that his tendency is to select figures which are the fullest expression of physical development. With the exception of the Hera, which stands by itself, he avoids the representation of the greater gods or of typical feminine figures; anything like grace or sentiment, or deep spiritual qualities, must not be looked for in his work. On the other hand, we must not be blind to his merits. Quintilian commends his carefulness in detail, and the 'finish' of his statues, which he was able to combine with massiveness and breadth of style.

Numerous pupils of his are mentioned by name, but none can be certainly associated with extant works. On the other hand, there are not a few small bronze statuettes in our museums which may be described as 'of Polycleitan style,' and this we should naturally expect in the case of a sculptor who worked so largely in bronze. In particular there is one in the British Museum where the Doryphoros type has been adopted for Zeus.[2]

There remains for consideration among existing fifth-century sculptures the decoration of some architectural monuments in various

[1] See Plate XLIII.

[2] Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 519.

parts of the Greek world. Chief among them are the sculptures of the temple of Apollo at Phigaleia (Bassae) in Arcadia, erected by Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon. The whole design of the temple is markedly original (see p. 39), and among other new features the frieze is not outside but *inside* the cella of the building. Its orientation was north and south, and the statue of the god was placed in the south-west angle of the cella, facing a door in the east side. The principal figures of the frieze were immediately above this statue, and form the point of division between its two subjects, a battle of Greeks and Amazons, and a battle of Greeks and Centaurs, but the two deities are represented as taking part in the former scene. These sculptures were excavated by Cockerell in 1811, and were acquired by the British Museum.

The whole frieze, though far inferior in style and merit to that of the Parthenon, is full of interest and originality, especially in the treatment of the drapery; but there are a certain restlessness and exaggerated passion about the groups which betoken a departure from the ideas of Pheidias, and herald the incoming of those which characterise fourth-century sculpture. Although the original conception may be due to an Athenian artist, the work must be that of a local school of sculptors, such as we have met with at Olympia. The same provincial characteristics have been observed in the remains of sculpture from the recently-excavated Heraion at Argos, in which also a certain amount of Attic influence is apparent.

Other monuments are to be sought for in Lycia, the south-western province of Asia Minor, which, as we have already seen in the 'Harpy' tomb (p. 78), was peculiarly receptive of the influences of true Greek art, although in many respects a semi-barbarous country. At Gjölbaschi (Trysa) there is a sepulchral monument or *heröon*, decorated in semi-Oriental fashion with a series of friezes representing in relief quite a gallery of mythological subjects. The compositions are for the most part very pictorial in character, and it is often easier to find their parallels in Attic vase-paintings than in sculpture. It has been suggested that the influence of the great painter Polygnotos is the explanation of this characteristic; he was an artist of Ionian origin, and the style of the Harpy monument shows that it was Ionian influence which more especially made itself felt in Lycia. The Nereid monument from Xanthos, the sculptures from which are now in the British Museum, is regarded by some authorities as a fifth-century work; but though undoubtedly under the influence of that period,

it is more conveniently dealt with among the works of the fourth century.

Returning for a moment to Athens, we must deal briefly with one or two works in which the spirit, if not the influence, of Pheidias is more or less directly visible. The sculptured tombstones in which this spirit is perhaps seen at its best are more properly discussed among works of fourth-century art; but there are two reliefs of a votive character which, from their beauty and general interest, demand a few words. The first of these is a relief found on the Acropolis, representing Athena with bent head, leaning on a spear, in the attitude of a mourner.[1] Before her is a pillar or tombstone, and it is supposed that she is mourning over warriors fallen in battle. The date is about 430 B.C., the style simple and severe, with a stiffness in the drapery which at first suggests an earlier date, but it is both pleasing and impressive. The other is a dedicatory tablet from Eleusis, representing Demeter and Persephone with the boy Triptolemos. In the same simple and severe style, with restrained and almost formal treatment of the drapery, it is probably of the same date as the other. Professor Ernest Gardner regards it as an example of the graceful ornateness of early Attic art overpowered by a reaction towards severe nobility, Pheidias representing the golden mean between the two tendencies.

The chief characteristics of fifth-century sculpture are breadth of style and ideality; these traits, though best exemplified in Pheidias, are by no means confined to the great master. Pheidias, however, founded no school properly so called; he had associates in his work, but they mostly followed their own subsequent lines. If the phrase may be used without misconception, Pheidias was absolutely normal, and without idiosyncrasies; he did not therefore lend himself to imitation, still less to the exaggeration and degeneration in which the following of a great master often terminates. But he created types which had an unconscious influence on his successors, as in the case of his Zeus and Athena; and many of his technical innovations also became a heritage. The reflection of his style is, as noted above, best seen in the sepulchral monuments of the fourth century (p. 127), in which we observe a transition from the ideal to the merely beautiful, and from the general to the individual, which represents, briefly, the transition from Pheidias to Praxiteles.

[1] Plate XL.

The epoch of this transition corresponds with the period of the Peloponnesian War; and it is probably in a measure due to the fact that after 430 B.C. there was less scope for the application of art in its highest forms to the adornment of great public buildings. It was the Persian Wars which acted as a uniting element in Greek politics and culture; but the result of the Peloponnesian Wars was the promotion of an individualism by which the character of both was completely changed.

CHAPTER VII

GREEK SCULPTURE AFTER PHEIDIAS

Characteristics of fourth-century sculpture—Praxiteles—The Hermes—Skopas—Sculpture in Asia Minor—The Mausoleum—Other fourth-century sculptors—Lysippos—Attic sepulchral reliefs—The Sidon Sarcophagi—The Hellenistic Age—The schools of Rhodes and Pergamon—The Laocoon—The Aphrodite of Melos and other existing works—*Genre* subjects and reliefs.

I. THE FOURTH CENTURY

IN the preceding chapter we hinted at the gradual replacement of idealism in art by realism, and of political and artistic unity by individualising tendencies. The fourth century marks the rapid growth of these two principles. In the political world we may observe the disappearance of the old democracy of culture with the decay of Athens, followed by the short-lived military supremacies of Sparta and Thebes, and culminating in the 'one-man' dominion of Alexander the Great, an entirely new feature in Greek history. Similarly in the domain of art, the history of the century shows the gradual rationalising of religious ideas as expressed in sculptured representations of the gods, and the replacement of the idealised cosmic conceptions by individualised figures, in which the religious idea makes way for mere grace and sentiment. Instead of Zeus, Hera, and Athena, Dionysos, Aphrodite, and Apollo are the typical subjects of the sculptor's art, and the motives of his creations are not religious but ethical.

The earliest name usually associated with this century is that of Kephisodotos, the father—or more probably elder brother—of Praxiteles, who worked about 395-370 B.C., and in some respects illustrates the period of transition from the preceding century. His best-known work was a statue of Eirene (Peace) nursing the infant Ploutos (Wealth), a type of figure which now appears for the first time, but

was destined to have many imitators, notably the great Hermes of his immediate successor. By means of reproductions on coins of Athens, a copy of this statue has been traced in a work of considerable merit now at Munich. It has been pointed out that the worship of Peace, begun in the time of Aristophanes, was finally established about 375 B.C. The type seems to represent a transition from the simple figure with an attribute, to the group with a close relation between the figures. In the treatment of the drapery we can trace lingering indications of archaic stiffness, due perhaps to the fact of a bronze original, while the figure of the child, though modified in the copy, still retains the defects which characterise the attempts of most Greek sculptors in this direction. But that Kephisodotos stands at the head of a new development is further shown by his personifications of abstract ideas, a principle which henceforth rapidly increases in popularity.

His immediate successor, and the most typical sculptor of the fourth century, is Praxiteles, who would seem from the language of ancient writers to have been held in higher estimation than any other sculptor of antiquity. Without going so far as this we may yet affirm that he was the greatest sculptor of the fourth century, and that he is the most representative of its character and achievements. By birth and training an Athenian, he appears to have worked also in other parts of the Greek world, and though there is no certainty as to dates we may place the period of his activity about 370-350 B.C. From the pages of Pliny and other writers we may glean a list of no less than forty-six recorded works by him, besides others about which there is uncertainty. About one-third of these are single figures of gods, and another third, groups of deities or other mythological scenes; the remainder are either *genre* figures, such as a woman spinning or a girl decking herself with jewels, or representations of his mistress Phryne. Most of these were in marble, though occasionally he employed bronze.

As compared with other sculptors, we are exceptionally fortunate in being able to recognise several of the more famous of Praxiteles' works in copies, and thus his characteristics had long been familiar to students of classical art when other masters had as yet hardly been properly estimated. But since the year 1877 it has been possible to say of him, what can be said of no other sculptor, that we actually possess one of his chief works direct from his hand.

The Hermes of Praxiteles, thirty years ago a mere name, is now as familiar to us as the Aphrodite of Melos or the Apollo Belvedere.

When this marvellous work was brought to light by the German excavators at Olympia, there was no difficulty in identifying it, as it had been expressly stated by Pausanias that a 'Hermes of marble, carrying the child Dionysos, the work of Praxiteles,' stood on the spot where this statue was found. The state of its preservation was, all things considered, little short of marvellous, and in view of the rarity of marble heads in perfect condition, it was a matter for much congratulation to find this absolutely unharmed. But it is not only the beauty of the head and of the pose and modelling of the body which attracts the attention; to those who have seen the original, placed in the soft half-light of its room in the museum at Olympia, a revelation is given of the appearance of a genuine Greek statue. It is the wonderful colouring and texture of the marble with its play of light and shade which make its special attraction, and unfortunately these are all lost in the casts, with which alone most of us are familiar.

To speak of the statue in detail,[1] it may be mentioned that the right arm and both legs from the knees, with the exception of the exquisite sandalled right foot, are wanting, and that the former is generally supposed to have held up a bunch of grapes, towards which the child extended its left hand. This theory is supported by the existence of one or two copies in other materials, and of a terra-cotta caricature of the subject.[2] The graceful, easy curve in which the body is posed was a specially Praxitelean characteristic, appearing in all his works; and this leaning, restful attitude forms a remarkable contrast to the square sturdy figures of Polykleitos. The left arm which holds the child rests on a tree-trunk covered with drapery, the folds of which are reproduced with wonderful realism;[3] but the child is the least successful part of the composition. In speaking of the Eirene and Ploutos we have already had occasion to allude to this singular deficiency on the part of Greek sculptors of the period; it is rare to find a child treated otherwise than as a miniature adult. And we may note a curious parallel in the many failures of the great Italian painters to do justice to the figure of the Infant Saviour.

The Hermes was not regarded in antiquity as one of Praxiteles' great works, but it must now always form the basis of any criticism of his style, and it is possible that even if one of the more famous ones

[1] See Plate XLIV.

[2] See Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 373 ff.

[3] A German critic, on seeing a photograph of the statue for the first time, exclaimed 'Why did they leave that cloth hanging there when they photographed the statue?'

had been preserved in its place we should not have received such a favourable impression.

Ancient writers agreed in assigning to the Aphrodite of Knidos the first place for beauty among Greek statues. The type is well known to us from copies on coins and in minor works of bronze or terra-cotta, and marble copies exist at Munich and in the Vatican.[1] The goddess is represented as just stepping into the bath, but perfect as the treatment of the nude form must have been, the effect is greatly marred by the obvious consciousness of nudity displayed in her attitude. Although Praxiteles' attempt to express the modesty of the goddess was doubtless sincere, it is obvious that with the inevitable subsequent degeneration of taste this trait was destined to become vulgarised into a less refined conception, the modesty becoming more apparent than real. The pose of the figure is almost identical with that of the Hermes, though the necessity for a support is not so strongly accentuated. The head, and especially the hair and eyes, were selected by Lucian as points in which Praxiteles excelled all other sculptors, a criticism by the way, which we may fairly apply to his Hermes.

The story goes that Phryne by a false alarm of fire elicited from Praxiteles the acknowledgment that he regarded his Eros and his Satyr as his two most precious works. The former was dedicated by her in her native town of Thespiae, and formed a great attraction there, but we know nothing of its character. Praxiteles may, however, be said to have created the type of Eros, at least as we know it in the fourth century. The Satyr or Faun stood in the Street of Tripods at Athens, and exists in several copies, the best being in the Capitol at Rome. In its youthful, graceful form we observe a great change from the purely bestial creations of an older art. The last statue that need be mentioned is the pretty conception of Apollo Sauroktonos or the Lizard-slayer; the effeminate character of the various copies we possess is probably not originally due to Praxiteles.

It would not be right to quit the subject of Praxiteles without mentioning a work which, if not certainly, is very probably from his hand, a sculptured base found at Mantineia, with reliefs of Apollo contending with Marsyas, accompanied by the Muses. This is mentioned by Pausanias as having been made for Mantineia by Praxiteles, the group it supported representing Apollo with Artemis and Leto. Another work in which Praxitelean characteristics have

[1] The latter is given on Plate XLV.





THE APHRODITE OF THE VATICAN, AND THE DEMETER OF KNIDOS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)







BRONZE HEADS OF APHRODITE (?) AND HYPNOS (SLEEP)
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

been generally recognised is the beautiful head in Lord Leconfield's possession at Petworth.

The style of this sculptor is also reflected in some very fine works in bronze, most of which, however, are only on a small scale. By far the most beautiful is the exquisite winged head of Hypnos, the God of Sleep, in the British Museum, which was found at Perugia.[1] It bears a strong resemblance to that of the Apollo Sauroktonos. The treatment of the hair, the soft beauty of the head, and the whole artistic conception tend to justify this attribution, even if the work is not directly from his hand. The left wing is unfortunately lost, but the right remains, attached to the temple, which the ancients regarded as the seat of sleep. Following a Homeric notion the sculptor has made them like the wings of a night-hawk, which moves with perfect silence, as is appropriate for the God of Sleep. An Aphrodite from the Pourtalès collection, also in the British Museum, is a good example of the style of Praxiteles, though not necessarily a copy of any of his works; and in another statuette, an Apollo from Thessaly, the characteristic easy attitude of all his figures is to be observed.

Contemporary with Praxiteles, but in many ways showing a marked contrast to him, was his great rival Skopas (390-350 B.C.), also a product of the Athenian school, although a native of Paros. He worked on the great temple at Tegea in Arcadia about 393 B.C., and on the Mausoleum about 350. In him we observe a remarkable energy and passion which contrast strongly with the dreamy sensuousness and delicate grace of his rival. Only about twenty works by him are recorded, and his fame in antiquity never approached that of Praxiteles. None of them are preserved in originals, and few in copies, but we have in the scanty fragments of the pedimental sculptures made by him for the Tegea temple two heads of such striking and original character that they afford a very fair idea of his style. The peculiarity of these heads consists in the treatment of the eye, with its piercing far-directed expression and the heavy overhanging brow, which at once arrest and impress themselves upon the observer.[2]

Among other existing works few approach nearer to these heads in their physical characteristics than the noble Castellani bronze head in the British Museum, usually identified as Aphrodite.[3] In this

[1] See Plate XLVI.

[2] The subject of the pediment was the Hunt of the Calydonian boar. The figure of Atalanta from this pediment has recently been discovered, but the head does not exhibit Scopaic characteristics, and it is doubtful if it can really belong to the figure.

[3] See Plate XLVI.

we see the typical individualities of Skopas, the low broad forehead, the intensely-gazing, deep-set eyes, and the large heavy nose strongly marked. Some have seen in it a Praxitelean character, and have even gone so far as to identify it with the Knidian Aphrodite, chiefly on the evidence of a hand holding drapery which was found with it. But now that we know more of Skopas' style, it seems more natural to associate it with him, and the identification as Aphrodite is by no means certain.

Among the works of which we have only records or copies, a famous one was the Apollo Citharoedos (the Harper) which Augustus placed in his temple on the Palatine. The god was conceived in somewhat feminine fashion,[1] with elaborately-dressed hair and flowing draperies, playing on his lyre. The type may possibly be seen on coins of Augustus and Nero, and marble replicas exist in the British Museum and elsewhere; but these copies certainly do not suggest what we know of Skopas' style, and may after all be from some later statue. Another important work was a group representing the apotheosis of Achilles; the hero was represented as being escorted by his mother Thetis and Poseidon, and a troop of Nereids on sea-monsters, to the islands of the blest. Skopas also originated the type of the frenzied Maenad swinging a slain kid in one hand (known as the Chimairophonos), which has become familiar in Roman reliefs. For Pergamon in Asia Minor he made a colossal figure of Ares, afterwards transported to Rome, which may be recognised as reproduced on a relief of the Arch of Constantine; the god was seated with Victory at his side.

Most famous of all the works attributed to Skopas was a great group representing the slaying of the children of Niobe by Apollo and Artemis, which was brought from Asia Minor to Rome and set up in a temple of Apollo about 35 B.C. Pliny expresses doubts as to whether it was the work of Skopas or Praxiteles, and modern writers have largely wavered between the claims of the two. If, however, the group as we know it from copies reflects the style of either, our choice must lie with Skopas; but, though undoubtedly in keeping with the traditions of fourth-century style, it may equally well be derived from some other sculptor under his influence. Of the various copies of this group the majority are now in the Uffizi at Florence;[2] but none of them can compete with the Chiaramonte Niobid of the Vatican, a marvellous study of drapery in motion, as the girl flees in a vain

[1] Feminine costume was considered as appropriate for musicians by the Greeks.

[2] See Plate XLVII. for group of mother and child.





1. GROUP OF NIOBE AND DAUGHTER
(FLORENCE)
2. CHARIOTEER FROM FRIEZE OF MAUSOLEUM
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



STATUE OF MAUSOLOS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

endeavour to escape her fate. The Florence group of the grief-stricken mother holding up her drapery to protect her younger child is a well-known one; and in this as in the others we note the reserve and moderation with which passion is still expressed in the fourth century.

We are also told that Skopas took part in the decoration of the Mausoleum at Halikarnassos and of the great temple at Ephesus, but as regards the latter the remains are insufficient to attempt any identification. The Mausoleum sculptures will be discussed in the succeeding section.

In the fifth century nearly all the great buildings with whose decoration we have been concerned were to be found in Greece itself; but the political changes brought about by the Peloponnesian War for the most part put an end to Hellenic ambition in this direction, especially at Athens, and the centre of architectural activity in the fourth century is removed to Asia Minor. Here the Ionic style is seen to be just at its height, and the mantle of Peisistratos and Pericles has fallen on a Mausolos, an Attalos, or an Alexander. Nevertheless it was found necessary to have recourse to the great masters of the plastic art in Greece for the decoration of these magnificent buildings, and thus we hear of Skopas and others of his contemporaries being actively occupied for some time in Asia Minor.

The earliest monument of fourth-century style in this series is the Nereid Monument of Xanthos in Lycia. Some authorities, indeed, as we noted in the last chapter, prefer to associate it with the fifth, and undoubtedly the sculpture has many of the characteristics of the best Attic work, combined with the pictorial tendencies of Ionic art, which we have also noted in the Gjölbaschi *heroön* (p. 112). The figures of Nereids, from which it derives its name, were placed between the pillars of the colonnade; the sculptures were arranged in four friezes round various parts of the building. All the existing remains are now in the British Museum, where they are, so to speak, turned outside in, being arranged round interior walls in the same manner as originally on the exterior. The principal frieze represents a battle, and the capture of a city, and is very vividly conceived.

Next in date, but far surpassing it in importance, is the Mausoleum, of which we have given a description in our chapter on Architecture (p. 49). Pliny tells us that the sculpture was executed jointly by four artists, Skopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares, each being respon-

sible for one side. The colossal portrait-statue of Mausolos,[1] which cannot be identified as any artist's work, is yet a very successful achievement, full of dignity and broadly conceived, the treatment of the drapery being very fine; the face is obviously not a Greek type, but conveys a very favourable impression of the great prince.

The remains of sculpture preserved to us from the Mausoleum are partly in the round, including the colossal four-horse chariot on the top, various equestrian statues, and figures of lions; partly decorative friezes, of which three can be distinguished, though their respective positions are doubtful. The finest work is to be seen in the smallest of the three, representing a chariot-race; although it is in a very fragmentary condition it contains one figure which stands out as a work of supreme excellence,[2] a figure in the long-trailing robe girt at the waist which charioteers always wear, leaning forward as if straining towards the goal. The keen, intense expression and the forceful attitude at once recall the characteristics we have observed in the work of Skopas, who may therefore have been entrusted with the design of this particular frieze. As to the other three artists, although existing works may give us some idea of their respective styles, it is impossible to recognise them in any parts of the Mausoleum sculptures. It is most likely that the association of each with a particular part of the building was a later story, arising from the fact that all four were associated in the general design, just as we saw that the story of a competition arose out of the group of Amazons by Polykleitos and others at Ephesus.

The great temple of Artemis at Ephesus, rebuilt about 350 B.C., was remarkable among other features for the sculptured designs round the lower parts of the columns and on the square bases. Pliny tells us that one of these was by Skopas, but in the best preserved of them, now in the British Museum, we are rather disposed to recognise the characteristics of Praxiteles. The subject has been variously explained, but probably represents Alcestis conveyed to Hades by Death, a youthful winged figure armed with a sword, and Hermes the conductor of souls. The conception and treatment of the two male figures is decidedly influenced by Praxiteles. Contemporaneous with these works are the sculptures from the temple of Athena at Priene, also in the British Museum, which represent a battle of gods and giants.

Among the many treasures of fourth-century sculpture obtained by English explorers for the British Museum none holds a higher

[1] Plate XLVIII. [2] Plate XLVII.

place than the exquisite figure of the mourning Demeter, or *mater aolorosa* as it might almost be styled, brought by Sir Charles Newton from Knidos.[1] The sculptor is unknown, and we cannot institute a comparison with any other existing work; but it is possible to descry in the figure the influence both of Skopas and Praxiteles. The latter sculptor worked, as we know, at Knidos, and Skopas at Halikarnassos close by, so that the artist, if a local man, may well have come under the influence of the two great masters. The expression of Demeter's face, as a rendering of resignation and chastened grief, has seldom been surpassed, and as a presentment of the dignity of sorrow it ranks with the greatest products of mediaeval genius.

The second half of the fourth century marks a period of transition from the somewhat sentimental and emotional creations of the first half to the realistic school of the succeeding age. It is also distinguished by a revival of heroic subjects and healthy vigorous conceptions, culminating in the work of Lysippos, the most conspicuous representative of the period. Meanwhile passing mention must be made of the other names by which it is marked.

Euphranor of Corinth was both sculptor and painter, and excelled in ideal portraits of heroes and the study of character, such as that of Alexander the Great. Seilanion's work was much on the same lines, and a portrait of Plato which he made for the Academy enjoyed great renown. A curious story is told of him, that in a statue of the dying Jocasta he mingled silver with the bronze to reproduce the paleness of death in her countenance. As a matter of technique this would have been practically impossible in the casting (see p. 68), but it may have been produced by inlaying or coating over the bronze. Of the three sculptors who worked at the Mausoleum, Timotheos also made figures to adorn the pediments of the temple of Asklepios at Epidauros; several of these were found in the course of recent excavations, gracefully-conceived figures of Victories and Nereids, with clinging or floating draperies in the style of late Attic fifth-century work. The temple-statue of the god was by Thrasymedes of Paros, and copies of it have been preserved in reliefs found on the site.

Leochares, who also worked on the Mausoleum, made a famous statue of Ganymede carried off by the eagle of Zeus, which, as Pliny says, 'sensible of his beauty, seems careful not to hurt him.' Several replicas of this exist, the best being in the Vatican. He also made

[1] Plate XLV.

statues of Zeus and Apollo, and portraits of Alexander the Great, and seems to have been an artist of much individuality. Recently an attempt has been made to attribute to him the well-known Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican (p. 135), but it can hardly be as early as the fourth century.

An interesting personality is Damophon of Messene, who harks back to the traditions of Pheidias, not only as confining himself exclusively to temple-statues of deities, but as a worker in gold and ivory.[1] At Lykosura in Arcadia he made for the temple of Despoina (Persephone) a colossal group representing her with Demeter, Artemis, and the Titan Anytos. In recent excavations remains of these statues have been discovered, which show much originality and individuality of treatment. Along with them was found a remarkable piece of drapery in marble with rich embroidery in low relief.

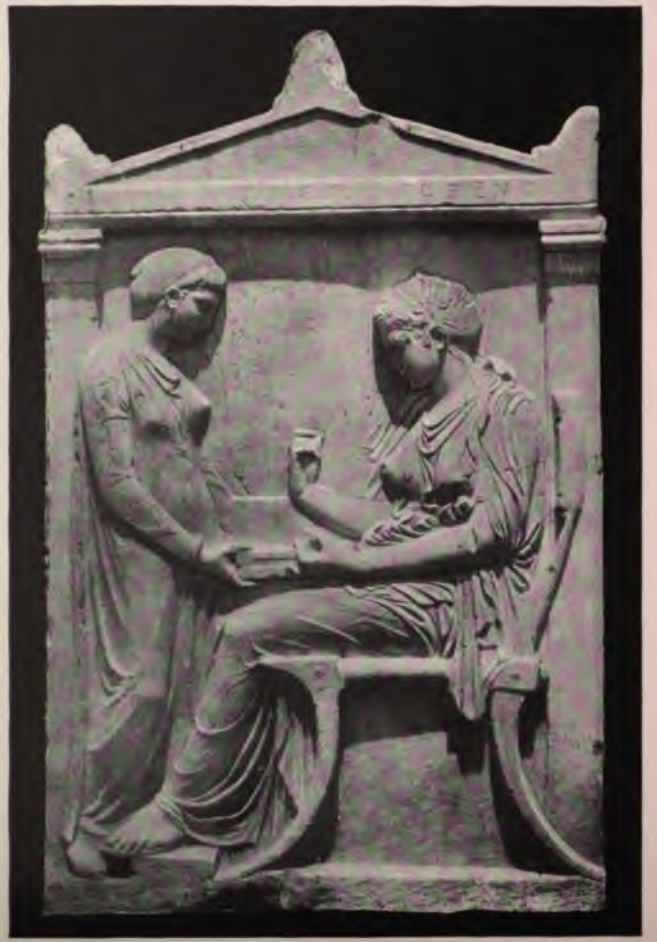
Lysippos was a native of Sikyon, and flourished about 330-315 B.C.; we are told that he was self-taught. He was a most prolific artist, and, though only thirty-five of his works are recorded by name, he is said to have made fifteen hundred in all. He exercised considerable influence on subsequent art, especially at Rome. His chief characteristics are realism, vigour, and artistic skill, combined with a manliness and robustness to which the bronze, in which he exclusively worked, was well suited. His range of subjects includes deities, heroes, and athletes, among the former being four of Zeus, one of colossal size; a Poseidon in which he created the type for succeeding generations; and the famous Kairos or Opportunity at Sikyon. This latter was a purely allegorical figure, though probably conceived as an athletic youthful deity of the Hermes type, very far removed from our idea of Father Time. Among his heroes were several figures of Herakles, his conception of whom as a toil-worn man resting from his labours is quite new in Greek art, and more characteristic of the succeeding century. Alexander the Great was his special patron, and, according to tradition, allowed no one else to make statues of him. Of these three are recorded, and several extant statues and busts of the Great King illustrate the descriptions given of them, even if they cannot be referred to those originals.[2] We are told that he reproduced Alexander's physical peculiarities, the twist of his neck and the liquid gaze of his eye, without sacrificing the lion-like vigour of his general appearance.

[1] It must not be ignored that some writers place Damophon much later than the fourth century.
[2] See Plate XLII. Fig. 2.





THE AGIAS AND APOXYOMENOS OF LYSIPPOS





SEPULCHRAL RELIEFS OF HEGESO AND DEXILEOS
(ATHENS)

The most famous of his statues, however, seems to have been one of an athlete scraping himself with a strigil after exercising in the palaestra, known as the *Apoxyomenos*. This work, of which a good marble copy exists in the Vatican,[1] has been described as a study in athletic *genre* rather than a representation of an individual athlete. It has been supposed that it was meant to embody a new system of proportion, varying from that of Polykleitos. Pliny tells us that he made the bodily proportions more slender and the head smaller; and certainly if we compare the Vatican Apoxyomenos with the athletes of Polykleitos, this is the impression we carry away. Lysippos was also distinguished for his power of expressing character, as already noted in the case of Alexander; and his statues of Aesop and the Seven Wise Men may have been studies in this direction. An illustration of his robust and virile tendencies is given by the remarkable omission of any female creations from the list of his works.

An important light has recently been thrown on the work of Lysippos by the discovery at Delphi, in 1897, of a statue representing Agias, an athlete of Pharsalos in Thessaly,[2] with which has been connected an inscription stating that a statue with that name was made by our sculptor. M. Homolle thinks that we are justified in accepting this identification, and regarding the Agias as a contemporary work, if not actually from his hand. He deduces therefrom the opinion that Lysippos consciously borrowed from Praxiteles (rather than from Skopas), and that he preserved, in spite of his innovations, something of the character of Polykleitos. Thus the school of Sikyon may be connected with both those of Athens and Argos. This statue must in future form the text on which all discussions of Lysippos are based, just as the Hermes has for the last thirty years been the basis of all discussion of Praxiteles.

Lysippos being *par excellence* a worker in bronze, it is not surprising that we find many existing works in that material which obviously belong to his school, and some must be almost contemporary with him. Of these none are equal in merit to the exquisite heroic figure from the lake of Bracciano in the British Museum,[3] in some respects perhaps the finest of all existing Greek bronzes. It represents a youthful hero seated on a rock looking downwards, and is cast solid with a flat back, so that it is partly in high relief. It has been attached at the back to a piece of furniture.

The famous bronzes of Siris,[4] found near that river in Southern

[1] Plate XLIX. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Plate CVI. [4] *Ibid.*

Italy in 1820, are close rivals of the Bracciano figure, and equally reminiscent of the style of Lysippos, especially in their minuteness of finish. They form the shoulder-pieces of a cuirass, and from a technical point of view are a truly marvellous production. The subject of the two reliefs is that of a Greek hero overthrowing an Amazon, and the figures, although only beaten out from behind in *repoussé* work, are hammered out to such a degree of fineness that they are almost in the round, and the bronze has been reduced to little more than the thickness of paper. Add to this the extraordinary care and delicacy with which every detail has been worked up on the surface, such as the folds of drapery, the hair, and the patterns on the shields, and the whole presents a *tour de force* which none but a great master could have executed.

Yet again, we find the Lysippian influence strongly marked in a group of bronzes found at Paramythia in Epirus, near the seat of the ancient oracle of Zeus at Dodona. They were discovered in 1795-96, and the greater number were obtained by the great collector Payne Knight, from whom they came to the British Museum. They represent various gods such as Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, the two first-named being perhaps the finest specimens. Their date is about the third century B.C. In the Poseidon we observe the short torso and long legs which characterise the Lysippian system of proportions, and bearing in mind that that sculptor created a type of the god, we may fairly regard this as a good representative of it. The dolphin and the trident, which he held as attributes, have unfortunately been lost. Another fine figure, minutely finished, and with a keen expression of face, is the Zeus, also a favourite subject with Lysippos.

Lysippos is generally regarded as standing on the threshold of the new or Hellenistic Age, and there is no doubt that his influence on later sculpture is very conspicuous, especially in technique and artistic skill. Before, however, we turn to his immediate successors, we must allude to two groups of monuments which are associated with the fourth century, if not with the names of any great masters.

In the series of Attic tombstones which have been discovered in the Ceramicus, the chief burial-place of ancient Athens, we are confronted with a group of subjects carved in relief, which, though undoubtedly belonging to the fourth century, yet in a great measure recall the spirit of the preceding phase of art. Beautiful as they appear to our eyes, it must be remembered that, like the painted vases,

they are really minor products of art, in no case associated with great names, but from the workshops of humble craftsmen. These would naturally learn and retain the traditions of an earlier period, and it cannot be doubted that the genius of a Pheidias for sculpture in relief would exercise a specially powerful influence. Hence we see in these Attic sepulchral monuments of the fourth century a conservative tendency which forms a marked contrast with the passion and sentiment of a Skopas or a Praxiteles.

The subjects of these reliefs are mainly typical scenes from daily life: women at their toilet or work, athletes and warriors on horseback, banquet-scenes, and, most common of all, parting-scenes between members of a family. Their exact significance is not always easy to explain, but in most cases the only idea of the artist was to represent the deceased as he or she had been in daily life, in some typical occupation. Thus the monument of Dexileos, who fell in fighting against the Corinthians in 394 B.C., depicts him on horseback, spearing a fallen foe; or again that of Hegeso, perhaps the most beautiful of the series, shows the lady taking jewels from a box held out by an attendant.[1] In the parting-scenes on the other hand there seems to be a direct reference to the death of the deceased. Although these reliefs vary greatly in merit, many being quite inferior in execution, from the sculptor's stock-in-trade, yet some stand out conspicuous for delicacy and refinement of conception; the Hegeso, for instance, is a truly exquisite figure, and worthy of a disciple of Pheidias. While this is a gem of low relief, the Dexileos, appropriately to its theme, is conceived in high relief, informed with life and vigour.

The other group of monuments is that of the magnificent marble sarcophagi discovered not many years ago at Sidon, and now at Constantinople, which represent quite a new departure in fourth-century art. Their most remarkable feature is the elaborate system of colouring, which at the time of their discovery was in a marvellous state of preservation. It seems at first sight curious that purely Greek works of such merit should be found on such a distant site, but it was probably, as with the tombs of Lycia, the result of some long-continued tradition.

The earliest, known as the tomb of the Satrap, is actually of the fifth century, as is another known as the Lycian tomb, from the resemblance of its coved roof to those of certain contemporary Lycian monuments, but the style of its sculpture is purely Attic. Of the

[1] See Plate L. for these two reliefs.

strictly fourth-century examples, that known by the name of *Les Pleureuses*, the Weeping Women, is exceedingly beautiful. It is in the form of an Ionic temple, between the columns of which stand eighteen figures in varying graceful attitudes, but all represented as mourning. The emotion is chastened and subdued, and the Attic origin of the work is clear from its close parallelism with the tombstones.

But the most magnificent and beautiful of all is the great sarcophagus known as the tomb of Alexander. It is so called, not because he was buried therein, but because the subjects sculptured in relief on its sides relate to episodes in his life: battles of Greeks and Oriental warriors, and hunting-scenes, in which the conqueror takes part.[1] The general effect is greatly enhanced by the exquisite colouring, which gives a more lifelike appearance to the figures; the style is Attic, and many of the figures with their intense expressions and vigorous movements suggest the influence of Skopas. It has in fact been pointed out that great as Lysippos' influence undoubtedly was, it is probably rather to Skopas that we must look for the inspiration that produced the highly emotional works typical of the succeeding age, with which such achievements as the Alexander sarcophagus form a connecting link.

II. THE HELLENISTIC AGE: DECADENCE OF GREEK SCULPTURE

The history of Greek sculpture in the period following the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.) exemplifies the principle that Art has a tendency to follow the course of History. It is difficult at first sight to realise the influence exercised by the Great King in this respect, and yet it is to be seen in more than one direction. Not only did his patronage of sculptors give a great impetus to the study of portraiture, and lay the foundations of a branch of sculpture which was brought to perfection by the Romans, but even the *type* of head to which the frequent reproduction of his features gave rise continually asserts itself in the works of the succeeding age. And in a wider sense the personality of Alexander made its effects felt in the history of art. The political conditions brought about by his conquests changed the whole character of Greek life, which ceased to be national and isolated, and became cosmopolitan. The centre of gravity, so to speak, was

[1] Plate LI.



THE ALEXANDER SARCOPHAGUS FROM SIDON
(CONSTANTINOPLE MUSEUM)



THE DYING GAUL
(VATICAN, ROME)

shifted eastwards from Athens to Alexandria and the coast of Asia, and the relative importance of the latter region now becomes strongly marked. The current of Art bifurcates, and one-half follows the eastward movement, the other half lingers on in a dormant condition until it reappears in Roman times.

And thus we find a rapid growth of Hellenism and Hellenic culture on the Eastern side of the Aegean Sea. Signs of this had not indeed been wanting in the fourth century, in which we saw that the great masters, such as Skopas and Praxiteles, devoted a considerable portion of their activities to the production of works of art for the great cities of Asia Minor, such as Ephesus, Knidos, and Halikarnassos, and even as far as Sidon. Thus the foundation was laid for the reception of the new influences which the conqueror brought in his train, and thus it is that as Alexandria succeeded Athens as the home of Greek literature, so we find in Asia Minor, no longer in Athens, Argos or Sikyon, the centre of the chief masterpieces of art.

Hence in the Hellenistic period, as the two centuries from 320 B.C. to 146 B.C. are usually called, we find that the pre-eminent schools of sculpture are associated with the city of Pergamon and the island of Rhodes, both being politically independent and active centres of culture. The school of Pergamon centres round the names of its rulers Attalos and Eumenes I. and II., all of whom were great patrons both of art and literature, and many of its productions are connected with historical events, such as the inroad of the Gauls in 279-240 B.C. Both this and the Rhodian school lasted for several generations, and in the Pergamene school we may distinguish two periods, the first from 240 to 197 under Attalos, the second from 197 to 160 under Eumenes. Other schools of less importance are associated with Ephesus and Tralles.

The inroads of the Gauls from Central Europe into Greece and Asia, which had begun with their attack on Delphi and repulse (owing, it was said, to the miraculous intervention of Apollo) in 279-278 B.C., culminated in their defeat by Attalos in a great battle at Pergamon in 241, after which they were driven to settle apart in Galatia. This victory, which signalised his accession to the throne, was regarded with special significance as the first successful repulse of the invaders, and although they were not actually reduced to submission until 166 B.C., under Eumenes II., it had the effect of firmly establishing the Pergamene dynasty. One immediate result thereof was that Attalos appears to have imported a school of sculptors from Greece with a

view of erecting a series of monuments to commemorate it. These statues, which were of bronze, have disappeared, but many of the bases with their dedicatory inscriptions remain; and, moreover, there exist various marble statues which from style and subject can be recognised as replicas of these Pergamene dedications. The best known of these is the familiar 'Dying Gaul' of the Capitol at Rome,[1] popularly but inaccurately styled the 'Gladiator,' for the propagation of which error Byron has been mainly responsible.

Pliny gives the names of four sculptors who fashioned statues relating to this battle; the subjects represented were: a battle of Gods and Giants, a battle of Greeks and Amazons, and combats of Greeks with Persians and Gauls. Some of these, including the originals of the Dying Gaul, and a kindred group of a Gaul slaying his wife (of which a copy exists in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome), were set up at Pergamon; but others, as we learn from Pausanias, were dedicated at Athens and placed against the south wall of the Acropolis. Marble copies from this latter group have been identified, about forty in all, at Paris, Naples, Venice, and elsewhere; and the motives have also been reproduced in small bronzes, some good examples of which may be seen in the British Museum.

In these monuments we have for the first time Historical Art—not symbolical, as in Oriental monuments, but realistic records of contemporary events. Differences of nationality are expressed by the different types of face—an outcome of the individualism of the fourth century and the rise of portrait-sculpture. Thus in the Dying Gaul we see the unmistakable indications of a barbarian, in the rough matted hair, the moustache, and the collar or torc of twisted gold round his neck, as well as in the shape of his shield. The anatomical details are executed with almost Lysippian truth and vigour, and the whole conception shows that the Greek of the period could feel admiration for the courage, and pity for the fate, of his fallen foe. Though less generally known, the companion group of the Gaul and his wife is hardly inferior; a highly dramatic conception, it is yet unaffected by the exaggerated realism of later times.

In the sets of figures dedicated at Athens, there seems to be an attempt to reproduce something of the fifth-century spirit which symbolised contemporaneous victories over barbarians by representations of analogous mythical events; all the subjects are chosen with the same end in view, to typify or represent the ascendancy of civilisation

[1] Plate LII.



SLABS FROM THE PERGAMENE FRIEZE
(BERLIN MUSEUM)



THE LAOCOON GROUP
(VATICAN, ROME)

over barbarism. Among the copies of which mention has been made, it is curious to note that all represent the conquered race, none the victorious; but the reason is unknown. In spite of their small size —they average about three feet in height—they are all of remarkable excellence, with a great variety of motive and pose, in which the same ethnological characteristics predominate which were observed in the statues of the Gauls described above.

In the year 197 B.C. Eumenes II., who had succeeded his father Attalos, set about the further adornment of the city of Pergamon by the erection of many magnificent buildings and monuments. Among these the greatest was the altar of Zeus, one of the chief wonders of the ancient world, and possibly referred to in the Apocalypse as 'Satan's seat.' It consisted of a huge base about 100 feet square, on which stood the altar, in a court surrounded by a colonnade. This was approached by a wide staircase, occupying part of the west side. It was adorned with two sculptured friezes, a smaller one round the inside of the colonnade and a larger one round the base; these have been excavated by German explorers, and are now in the Berlin Museum.

The great frieze represents a battle of the Gods and Giants, and exemplifies the art of the younger Pergamene school. The subject was probably chosen as typifying the struggles of the people against the savage Gauls, and, as we have seen before, was one of the favourite themes of Greek art, especially for commemorative monuments. The colossal size of the figures—they are over seven feet in height—the elaborate and vigorous conceptions, and the marvellous technical skill displayed, combine to render this one of the most remarkable and imposing examples of Greek art which we possess. At the same time, the general effect it produces is one of fatiguing restlessness, and, in spite of the dramatic action and powerful figures, it fails to give the aesthetic pleasure that we find in contemplating the friezes of fifth-century art. It is, in fact, the most typical presentment of the characteristics of decadent Greek art which we see further emphasised in the Laocoon (p. 133). The sculptor is carried away by the desire to depict emotion, and by his mastery of technical difficulties the religious significance of his theme is lost sight of, and idealism entirely gives place to realism.

The whole scene is a confused mass of struggling giants, from which their divine opponents can hardly be disentangled; but the variety of motive is astonishing, and some of the groups show undoubted power

and originality. The two finest figures are perhaps those of Zeus and Athena, the former of whom overpowers no less than three giants with his thunderbolts, while Athena, aided by her serpent, grasps her adversary by the hair, as he sinks helplessly before her. Another dramatic, if somewhat bizarre, figure is that of the goddess (whose identification is uncertain) engaged in hurling a pot full of snakes on her opponent. But the figure which most appeals to us is perhaps that of the Earth-mother Gaia, who is seen emerging from the ground and appealing passionately to Athena to preserve her offspring.[1] The number of deities engaged in the strife is almost endless, yet nearly every one can be distinguished by attributes or other motives, while in the case of the giants we find almost the same variety of form; some are merely gigantic human beings, but others are veritable monsters, with wings, and legs terminating in serpents, or even half human, half lions.

The altar was probably erected between 180 and 170 B.C., but the names of the artists are unknown, though they were undoubtedly inscribed on the monument. In this respect we are more fortunate when we come to treat of the Rhodian school, which has left several individual names.

The Rhodian school of sculpture was largely influenced by Lysippos, who re-introduced the making of colossal figures, and whose pupil Chares attained to distinction as the artist of the world-famed Colossus of Rhodes; he was a native of Lindos in that island. This statue was 105 feet high, and was one of the seven wonders of the world; it was set up in 303 B.C., but was overthrown by an earthquake sixty years later and never re-erected. We have no information as to its appearance, except that it represented Helios, the Sun-god, who was the especial patron of the city, but we can be certain that it did not bestride the harbour holding a lantern! Pliny tells us that there were a hundred more Colossi in Rhodes alone.

The island reached a great height of prosperity in the Hellenistic period, and doubtless attracted sculptors from all parts. The list of names gleaned from inscriptions falls into two periods, but the only one in the earlier period of whom we know anything is Aristonidas, who made a statue in which a blush was represented by mixing iron with the bronze. Like the story of Seilanion's Jocasta, this is obviously an impossibility (see p. 68).

[1] See for this group Plate LIII.

THE RHODIAN SCHOOL

The later group of sculptors is rendered illustrious by a work which has acquired a reputation second to no monument of antiquity, though perhaps beyond its actual deserts. We speak of the famous Laocoon group, the work of Agesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros, which is assigned to the beginning of the first century B.C.[1] It is therefore, strictly speaking, a work of the Roman period, but artistically represents a purely Greek development of sculpture. In regard to its date there has been much controversy in the past, owing to a misunderstanding of a passage in Pliny which seemed to imply that it was a work of the reign of the Emperor Titus, in whose palace it was placed; but recent criticism has been unanimous in its conclusions. Its fame in modern times has been chiefly due to Lessing's well-known essay; but with our present knowledge of ancient art, we should be slow to accept either his conclusions or those of Pliny, who thought it the greatest work of art in existence.

The Laocoon represents a step beyond the Pergamene frieze in the direction of dramatic conception and naturalism, and in the increased attention paid to anatomical realism. A question which has always been discussed in connection with it from the days of Lessing is its relation to the description of the same subject by Virgil. But we know now, at all events, that the poet did not inspire the group; nor, on the other hand, does it seem likely that he made use of it; the discrepancies are too many. Both poet and sculptor must have had recourse to a common original, and we also know that Sophocles composed a tragedy on this theme. All that need be said further in reference to the group is that it is a wonderful study of physical agony and terror, but that all true artistic feeling seems to be subordinated to technical skill.

Two other Asiatic schools of sculpture are represented by works of art to which names of artists are attached, those of Tralles and Ephesus. Apollonios and Tauriskos of Tralles, who lived early in the first century B.C., made a group known as the Farnese Bull, which, like the Laocoon, was removed to Rome, and there preserved to this day. The subject, which is really far too dramatic for sculpture, represents Zethos and Amphion of Thebes punishing their step-mother Dirke by fastening her to a bull. The group has all the characteristics of a picture, the scene taking place on rocky ground, and the elements of a landscape being introduced in the shape of plants and various animals, as well as a small seated figure supposed to personify Mount Kithairon, on which the action takes place. In the methods of com-

[1] Plate LIV.

position, and in the technical skill exhibited, this group forms a close parallel to the Laocoon. From the school of Ephesus comes the well-known Borghese warrior in the Louvre, made by Agasias, and formerly known as a gladiator. It represents a nude warrior with shield (now lost) on his outstretched arm, apparently attacking a horseman. It is chiefly remarkable as a study in anatomy, and exemplifies the latest development of the athletic schools of Greece.

We must now turn our attention to a series of statues which, though they cannot be referred to any definite artist or school, are yet typical of all that is best and most characteristic in Hellenistic art. Foremost among them is the Aphrodite of Melos,[1] more generally, but somewhat inaccurately, known as the Venus of Milo, a statue which has been considered, and not without reason, as the most beautiful in existence. Its beauty, however, is almost entirely lost in the plaster reproductions with which we are familiar, and it must be seen at the Louvre in all the lustre of its glistening marble for a full appreciation of its merits. There is in fact so much of fifth-century feeling about the statue that it at first sight suggests a much earlier date, and it is with reluctance that we accept the external evidence which forces us to place it so late as the end of the second century.[2]

The original motive of the lost arms has always been one of the problems of archaeology, and though endless suggestions have been proposed, it cannot be said that the problem is anywhere near solution. The clue may, however, be sought among the terra-cotta figures of the Hellenistic period from Sicily and Southern Italy, many of which represent Aphrodite in various poses and with various attributes.[3] Though it is not invariably the case, it is yet possible that some of these types may be referred back to sculptured originals, such as this one. It is at all events clear that the sculptor was an eclectic, who endeavoured to combine fifth-century simplicity and dignity with features more typical of his own age, such as the nude torso and the conventional drapery round the lower limbs; nor is the somewhat sensuous charm of Praxiteles altogether wanting.

The Apollo Belvedere of the Vatican is another famous statue

[1] See Frontispiece.

[2] The recent theory of M. Salomon Reinach must not be ignored, in which he has put forward the view, based on an inscription in the Louvre, that the statue is really an Amphitrite, forming a pair with the well-known Poseidon from Melos. If this view is correct, it will be possible, from the lettering of the inscription, to date the two statues about 380-350 B.C. See *Comptes-Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscrs.*, 1900, p. 463.

[3] Cf. Plate LXXVII.



THE NIKE OF SAMOTHRACE
(LOUVRE)



BRONZE STATUE FROM KYTHERA
(ATHENS MUSEUM)

which in former times stood for one of the representative examples of Greek art, but it has now been more properly estimated. Nevertheless it is a first-rate work of its kind. The Vatican statue is not indeed an original, being of marble, whereas it is clear, both from the modelling and from the treatment of the drapery, which is strictly impossible in marble, that the original was of bronze. Although there are remains of his bow in the left hand, it does not appear that the god was represented in the act of shooting; the pose of the right hand, with its unstudied ease, implies that no particular action is intended, unless he may be conceived as having just let fly his arrow. A companion statue is to be found in the Artemis of Versailles in the Louvre, a figure with many similar characteristics. Both are clearly products of the Hellenistic age, and some writers have seen in the conception of the Apollo a reference to the story of his personally repelling the attacks of the Gauls on his sanctuary at Delphi. This event took place in 279 B.C.

Modern discoveries of works of the Hellenistic period have not been as numerous as those of an earlier age, but one in particular takes high rank for its artistic merit. This is the Nike (Victory) of Samothrace, now in the Louvre,[1] a statue which seems to have had a considerable reputation in antiquity, as reproductions of it appear on coins of the third century. It is earlier in date than most of the works discussed in this section, for although no record of its artist remains, we know that it was set up by Demetrios Poliorketes to celebrate a naval victory in 306 B.C. The custom of setting up such figures to commemorate victories had long been familiar to the Greeks, as we saw from the Nike of Paionios.

The goddess was represented standing on the prow of a ship, blowing a trumpet and holding a trophy; the head and arms, with part of the wings, are now wanting, but there is much to admire in what remains, in the beautiful sweep of the drapery which is blown close round her body by the wind, and floats out beyond on her left side. As a study of a figure in rapid motion it would leave nothing to be desired were it not that a certain want of repose—one might almost say sensationalism—mars the effect, and causes it to suffer by comparison with the work of Paionios and other analogous figures of fifth century style.

This account would not be complete without some mention of the now historic find of statues dredged up off the island of Cerigo

[1] Plate LV.

(Kythera) in 1901. Their artistic merit has perhaps been somewhat over-rated, but large Greek bronzes are too rare to be passed over, and one figure at all events may take rank among the best sculptures which have been preserved. This is the athletic figure with outstretched hand, the head of which in style and pose reminds us not a little of the Praxitelean Hermes, though the statue is probably from the Lysippian school.[1] Except the lower part, it is in very fair preservation; the motive of the hand is as yet unexplained, and numerous attempts to identify the figure have been made. A special interest attaches to this find from the strong probability that it is part of a loot of works of art made by the Roman conqueror Sulla from Athens in 84-83 B.C., the ship containing this set of statues having been wrecked on its homeward voyage (p. 55).

An interesting tendency of the Hellenistic Age is towards personification of a local kind. This principle indeed is not strange to Greek art at any stage of its development, from the personified abstractions of the Homeric and Hesiodic shields downwards. Even on the painted vases we see female figures representing cities such as Thebes or Eleusis, and in fifth-century art there are the local personifications of the Parthenon pediments. But with the exception of Victory and a few other deities of the kind, abstract personifications are not found in plastic art before the fourth century. Then the lists of works of Praxiteles, Skopas, and Kephisodotos furnish us with many instances. But in the Hellenistic Age we meet with a new development, which is illustrated by a statue of considerable merit.

Early in the third century the sculptor Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippos, made for the city of Antioch a figure supposed to represent that city, but more individually personified as the Tyche or Fortune of the place. She was represented seated on a rock, from below which emerged the local river Orontes, personified as a young man swimming; in one hand she held some ears of corn, and on her head was the conventional mural crown appropriate to cities. The figure is almost allegorical in the manner in which the geographical situation of the city is here expressed. A copy of the statue exists in the Vatican, and suffices to give some idea of the grace and charm of the original.

In another direction Hellenistic sculpture aimed at simplicity and playfulness of motive, in a series of *genre* figures, chiefly of children

[1] See Plate LVI.

at play. The principal representative of this school was Boëthos of Carthage, who made several statues of children playing with birds, such as ducks or geese. Our museums are rich in figures of this kind, which, if not from originals by Boëthos, yet reflect the motives of which he made use; there is in particular one in the Louvre of a boy struggling with a goose almost of his own size, which is full of playful humour[1]; and even more delightful is a little figure found in the lake of Nemi, of a boy who has succeeded in imprisoning a duck under his hand, and then, smitten with sudden fear, stretches out his other hand imploring assistance. Not the least notable feature of these figures is that the fourth-century incapacity for reproducing accurately a child's proportions and physiognomy has quite disappeared. These playful children may be said to foreshadow the chubby, sportive *amoretti* of Pompeian art. Of the same character is a bronze statuette of Eros holding a torch, now in the possession of Mr. Pierpont Morgan. It is nearly life-size, and is remarkable for its beautiful patina (see p. 69).[2]

The tendencies of the age are also exhibited in a series of reliefs, or rather 'pictures in relief' as they have been termed, carved on panels intended to be let into walls. In them we see reflected the literary and artificial tendencies of the Hellenistic period, which recall the eighteenth century with its pastoral poetry and conventional art in figures and landscapes. The peculiarly pictorial treatment of these reliefs is seen especially in the backgrounds, which are either architectural or rural, or a combination of the two; the subjects in the foreground include country scenes, such as herdsmen, or peasants and animals, and mythological figures: Satyrs and Maenads, Polyphemos, or Adonis. The choice of subjects and the refined, minute method of treatment at once recall the *Idylls* of Theocritus, the town-poet of country life. We may also compare the metal-work of the period, of which the chased cup which Theocritus describes in his first Idyll is an example, and the reliefs are additionally valuable for the light they throw on the character of Greek painting at this time (see p. 159). An example of these reliefs in the British Museum, representing the visit of Dionysos to a tragic poet, is here illustrated.[3] The architectural background, in spite of its faulty perspective, well shows its pictorial character. These reliefs also had considerable influence on the paintings of Pompeii, some of which require little effort to convert them back, so to speak, into bas-relief.

[1] See Plate LVII., and cf. Plate CXI. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Plate LVIII.

GREEK SCULPTURE AFTER PHEIDIAS

The year 146 B.C. was a memorable year in the history of Greece, when Corinth was sacked by Mummius, and enormous numbers of works of art were destroyed or carried off to Rome. It is, of course, in no sense accurate to say that Greek Art then came to an end and Roman Art began; art in Greece proper had been dormant for a century and a half, and during that time Asia Minor had become the centre of culture, while, secondly, we have seen that in Asia Minor these schools of purely Hellenic, if decadent, art continued to flourish for about a century longer. Nevertheless to fix this date as the limit of a history of Greek Art is not so absurd as it may seem; it was after the events of this year that Greece became a Roman province, and all subsequent efforts of Greek artists were devoted to the service of their new masters. With the migration of many of the most celebrated works of art to Rome, and the formation of new schools for the purpose of reproducing these works in copies, the era of Graeco-Roman art may fairly be said to have opened; and it therefore seems more appropriate to close at this point the record of the achievements of Greek sculpture.





STATUETTES OF HELLENISTIC STYLE:
1. CHILD AND GOOSE, AFTER BOETHOS
(VATICAN)
2. EROS WITH TORCH
(PIERPONT MORGAN COLLECTION)



HELLENISTIC RELIEF: VISIT OF DIONYSOS TO A TRAGIC POET

(BRITISH MUSEUM)

CHAPTER VIII

GREEK PAINTING

Technical methods—Early history of painting—Literary records—Painting in Ionia and at Corinth—Attic tombstones—Polygnotos—Apollodoros, Zeuxis, and Parrhasios—The fourth-century schools—Apelles and Protogenes—Painting in the Hellenistic Age—Landscapes and *genre*-subjects—Etruscan paintings.

IN the writings of ancient authors who deal with the subject of art we find almost as much attention paid to painting as to sculpture; and in fact fuller details of the life and works of some painters, such as Zeuxis and Apelles, than of the great sculptors like Pheidias or Polykleitos. This fact would seem to indicate that in later antiquity at all events painting was placed, if not on a higher level than the sister art, at least on an equality with it; and this in spite of the undoubted tendency of the Greeks to prefer plastic forms as the medium for expressing their artistic ideas. For us moderns, however, the question whether the verdict of the ancient critics was justified remains insoluble, inasmuch as all the masterpieces of ancient painting have perished; and though our list of genuine original sculptures may be small and fragmentary, there yet remains enough to work out and establish the chain of development which we have indicated in the foregoing chapters.

The subject of Greek painting cannot then be treated with the same fulness or accuracy of knowledge as that of sculpture; all the material at our command, apart from literary records, consists of the productions of minor craftsmen such as vase-painters, or the frescoes and wall-paintings of Rome and Pompeii, which at best are but a reflection of the achievements of the great masters, standing hardly as near to their originals as do the Graeco-Roman copies of famous statues. In the present chapter we must of necessity confine ourselves mainly to the literary evidence, noting what is recorded of the principal artists. Such scanty remains of Greek paintings as do exist will naturally receive due attention; but in the archaic period at any





EARLY CORINTHIAN PAINTINGS:
1. VOTIVE TABLET
(BERLIN MUSEUM)
2. PAINTED METOPE FROM THERMON, ACARNANIA

work of wet stucco was usually employed,[1] specially prepared with different qualities of mortar; the colours were laid on with a brush, a medium being required for certain pigments. Easel-paintings were in water-colour but on a dry ground, whitened wood tablets being a favourite material (see p. 144); canvas was rarely used until late times, as in the mummy-paintings of Egypt under the Empire. Stone and marble were also used for paintings, especially in the form of painted *stelae* or tombstones, of which a few early examples from Greece exist, and others of later date from Amathus in Cyprus. Pausanias describes a painted tombstone by Nikias which he saw at Tritaea in Arcadia.[2] A fine example of painting in *tempera* on marble is to be seen in a sarcophagus of about 300 B.C. found at Corneto in Etruria, to which we shall return later (p. 160). The colours used for these purposes were kept dry, and pounded and mixed in a mortar when required for use. It is easy to believe that these paintings lacked durability, especially as there seems to have been no method of protecting them, such as varnishing, available.

We are told by Pliny that certain of the great painters (Apelles, Aëtion, Melanthios, and Nikomachos) used only four colours: white Melian earth, yellow or Athenian ochre, red from Sinope, of which there were three varieties, and black, probably lamp-black strengthened with size. It is obvious, however, that at the stage which painting had reached in their time—the fourth century—artists must have had more colours at their command. Probably all that is meant is that these four formed the basis of their combinations, from which they obtained all that they required, just as nowadays nearly all tints required for water-colours may be obtained from the three primary pigments. If the statement had been made of Polygnotos, it would have been more natural, and in fact Cicero does say that he and two of his successors were thus limited. It is difficult at first sight to understand how, even at that time, four colours sufficed for the production of great frescoes, but the achievements of the vase-painters, with whom drawing rather than colouring was always the principal aim, show what successful results could be obtained within these limits. This is especially the case with the white-ground vases (see p. 179), in which we see the technique of the great painter most closely reflected. And even he was capable of ingenious combinations to produce special effects, as in the case of the demon Eurynomos, who was painted the colour of a bluebottle fly.

[1] See Blümner, *Technologie*, iv. p. 432.

[2] vii. 22, 6.

There is authority for the statement that some of the great fifth-century frescoes were painted on wooden slabs affixed to walls, and that this was a generally-accepted material is further shown by the fact that Zeuxis, Parrhasios, Timanthes, and Apelles are all said to have painted small pictures on wood. These are not described by Pausanias, and may have been removed to Italy before his day. An interesting relic of painting on wood is a small picture found at Hawara in Egypt, now in the British Museum. The design indeed has almost perished, but the frame of the picture is intact, and bears a curious resemblance to the 'Oxford' frames of the present day.

Of encaustic painting we really know little, and the accounts are, as usual, ambiguous. The main principle was the laying on of colour by means of a brush or bronze pencil, with a medium of heated liquid wax, with which the colours were ground in; the ground was usually wood, sometimes ivory. We read of a lady of Cyzicus, named Jaia or Laia, who painted miniatures in encaustic on the latter material. It was regarded as a tedious and difficult process, and was only used for small pictures; those done on ivory may have resembled our miniatures. The process may, it has been suggested, have originated in Egypt, the climate of which was better suited to its practice; and as far as our evidence goes, it was introduced at a comparatively late period. The best, and in fact almost the only examples of the process existing at the present day are the mummy portraits of later Imperial times found in the Fayûm district of Egypt. Of these a fine series is in our National Gallery.

The earliest traces of paintings found on Greek soil are, as has been noted in a former chapter, the Cretan and Mycenaean frescoes of Knossos and Tiryns; but these stand quite by themselves, and have no bearing on the subsequent development of the art in Greece. On the other hand, in the humbler line of vase-painting we are able to trace a more or less direct and continuous development from the rudimentary attempts at painted decoration, which we have already noted as characteristic of the pottery of Thera (p. 15) as early as 2000 B.C. This Thera pottery formerly represented the earliest attempts at painting within our knowledge, but has now been anticipated in point of date by the extensive remains of early Cretan painted pottery which are known as Kamarais or 'Early Minoan' ware, and belong to the period 3000-2000 B.C. These, which are remarkable for their naturalism and brilliancy of colour, are the precursors of the Mycenaean wares,

which in their turn probably exercised a strong influence on the early art of Asia Minor. The Greek colonies along that coast represent the chief settlements of the 'Mycenaean' people after they were driven forth from their ancient strongholds, and their originality and naturalism left a lasting mark on their successors, who also learned from them many of their technical processes. The same is true in a lesser degree of Cyprus.

But it must be left for the succeeding chapter to speak more in detail of early Greek achievements in this direction. We shall have occasion to return again to the schools of painting in Ionia; but for the present we must turn aside to see what light is thrown on the origin of Greek painting by literary evidence.

Homer, although familiar with embroidery and the inlaying of metal, implies no knowledge of painting; nor do other early writers throw light on the subject. Almost all the evidence is derived from a few passages in Pliny, who collected his information from earlier treatises, especially that of Xenokrates of Sikyon, who wrote about 280 B.C. There are also a few hints given by Aelian, Athenagoras, and others. At first sight, these passages appear to confuse rather than to elucidate the matter, and there is no doubt that Pliny's own ideas were somewhat vague, perhaps from misunderstanding his authorities. In the almost entire absence of actual paintings we shall generally find it the safest course to learn what we can from the vases. And we have already seen that in all probability in early times art was hardly distinguished from handicraft, and that the difference of technical methods in large and small works cannot have been very great.

Pliny, then, begins by attributing to Corinth or Sikyon the discovery of the possibility of producing figures by outlining shadows,[1] just as Butades in the well-known story (p. 74) invented reliefs from a silhouette. The next stage, he says, was to fill in the outlines with single colours, or monochrome, a practice still obtaining in his own day. He next states that either Philokles, an Egyptian,[2] or Kleanthes of Corinth 'invented linear painting,' and that they were followed by Aridikes of Corinth and Telephanes of Sikyon who, still without using colours, introduced inner markings and details, and inscribed names over their figures. An innovation was made by Ekphantos of Corinth,

[1] The theory, it has been pointed out, is a purely arbitrary one; outline does not precede monochrome, but rather the contrary, at least as far as the evidence of early vase-painting goes. See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Pliny's Chapters on Art*, p. xxix.

[2] *I.e.* probably a Greek resident in Naukratis or some other colony in the Egyptian Delta. If so, he would have been an Ionian.

who covered his figures with a red wash, made from pounded pottery; but this process soon died out.[1] Hygiainon, Deinias, and Charmadas are mentioned as painters in monochrome. Advancing yet a step further, Eumaros distinguishes the sexes by introducing white for female figures, thus marking the first stage in the progress from monochrome to polychrome.

Such is Pliny's account of early Greek painting, from which we may learn certain facts at any rate: namely, that the earliest painters were scarcely painters at all in the strict sense of the word, but rather draughtsmen, merely practising outline. The attainment of anything like symmetry or rhythm was as yet beyond them, and they could only slowly acquire mastery over their material, and after that the correct presentment of objects. But the latter achievement belongs to a later stage.

We are told by Athenaeus[2] that Kleanthes of Corinth made a picture of 'Poseidon offering a tunny-fish to Zeus in travail,' a somewhat unintelligible theme at first sight, but comparison with vase-paintings (and with a passage in Strabo) makes it clear that the subject of the picture was the favourite one of the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus. On more than one vase with this subject Poseidon is one of the deities present at the event, holding the tunny, however, merely as an attribute, his action having been misunderstood by later writers. These vase-paintings date about the middle of the sixth century B.C., and it is hardly likely that Kleanthes can have been much earlier.

This is almost the only early painting of which we have a record from continental Greece, but the vases alone would suffice to show the important position held by Corinth in the seventh and sixth centuries as an art-centre. These will be discussed in a subsequent chapter, but there are two series of monuments, one found at Corinth, the other connected therewith, which are even more important for the early evidence on Greek painting. The first is a series of painted votive tablets found in 1879 on the slope of the Acrocorinthus, on the site of a shrine of Poseidon, the patron deity of the city.[3] The figures are painted in black and purple on a creamy white slip, with which the tablets are covered—the 'whitened tablets' which traditionally formed

[1] See Blümner, *Technologie*, iv. p. 478.

[2] vii. 346 c; cf. Strabo, viii. 343; and see *Jahrbuch d. arch. Inst.*, 1887, p. 153.

[3] The best examples are illustrated in the Berlin *Antike Denkmäler*, i. pls. 7, 8. One of these is reproduced on Plate LX.

the canvas of the early painters such as Kraton of Sikyon.[1] The use of a purple or red colour may perhaps be associated with the invention attributed to Ekphantos; it came in about the seventh century B.C., and is very general on Corinthian vases. The style of the tablets is rude, yet full of originality, and their date is probably the first half of the sixth century.

Most of them bear representations of the god himself with his trident, sometimes in a chariot with his spouse Amphitrite; others again have interesting subjects referring to the ceramic industry of the place: the digging out of the clay, the making of the vases on the potter's wheel, or their export over the sea in ships. Nearly all bear inscriptions: 'So-and-so dedicated me to Poseidon,' placed on them by the pious dedicator, or 'I am Poseidon's,' probably memoranda of the temple officials for subsequent identification. These tablets are invaluable as showing on a small scale what the painters of the period could achieve, and as supplementing the scanty literary records.

For the other series we must turn to the recently excavated site of Thermon in Acarnania, where a sixth-century temple of early character has been unearthed. The decoration of this temple was largely in terra-cotta, and the metopes were of this material, with painted designs on a creamy white slip, like the tablets described above. Of these, five have been recovered in a more or less perfect condition. The colours employed are black, white (for details), and three shades of red: purple, terra-cotta, and a dark reddish-brown. The subjects are a Gorgon's head, a hunter, Perseus, two women, and three deities enthroned.[2] That these paintings are of Corinthian origin is made clear by the presence of inscriptions in the alphabet of that city, as well as by other details, such as the distinction of sex, women being painted white and men terra-cotta, the use of rosettes, and other analogies with Corinthian vases.[3]

In Ionia or Asia Minor, again, tradition and the monuments go hand in hand. That a school of painting had established a firm footing as early as the end of the eighth century is shown by the story of the picture of a battle by one Boularchos, which Kandaules, King of Lycia, purchased for its weight in gold. Two hundred years later, about 515 B.C., Mandrokles of Samos had painted for him another historical picture representing Dareios watching the passage of his army over the Bosphorus. And we may also see in the names of Philokles, who

[1] Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christo*, 17, 293.

[2] The last-named is given on Plate LX.

[3] For full description and reproduction in colour, see Ἐφημ. Ἀρχαιολ., 1903, p. 71 ff., with plates.

probably came from the Ionian colony of Naukratis, and Saurias of Samos, further evidence of the importance of this school.

The point which Ionic painting had reached in the sixth century is well marked, not only by the numerous painted vases which can be attributed to this region, but by a group of monuments which are almost our only specimens of archaic Greek paintings on any considerable scale. These are a series of large terra-cotta coffins or sarcophagi found at Clazomenae on the Gulf of Smyrna, and ranging in date from about 600 to 500 B.C. Usually the decoration is confined to the broad flat rim of the sarcophagus; but there is a magnificent example in the British Museum, with a heavy gable-shaped cover, which is almost completely covered with paintings inside and out.[1] They consist of battle-scenes, funeral games, and chariot-races, groups of Sphinxes, and bands of ornamental patterns. The smaller examples usually have battle-scenes, friezes or groups of animals, and heads of warriors. It has been thought that in the representations of battles we may see a reflection of the paintings just described.

The technique is virtually the same as that of the contemporary Ionic vases, the figures being painted in black on a creamy-white ground; but they are not entirely in silhouette, the faces and other parts being often outlined in accordance with a favourite Ionic practice. Incised lines and patches of white paint are also occasionally employed to show details. The many points of comparison both in subjects and technique with the vases are of immense importance for the reconstruction of Ionic art.

The earliest traditions connected with Athens centre round the name of Eumaros, the man 'who first distinguished male and female.' He is also said to have 'ventured to imitate all sorts of figures.'[2] His date is disputed, some placing him in the time of Solon (about B.C. 600-590), others more towards the end of the sixth century. He may at all events be connected with the introduction of a distinct pigment to represent the flesh of women, like the white used on Attic black-figured vases (see p. 173). The last traditional name, before the records become historical, is that of Kimon of Kleonae (about 520-500 B.C.), who made great advances. Before his time, says Aelian, art was only in leading-strings. In the words of Pliny, he 'improved

[1] One of the short sides is given on Plate LXI.

[2] The word *figuras* here has also been explained as meaning 'positions.' But this reform is more characteristic of Kimon (see below).



PART OF PAINTED SARCOPHAGUS FROM CLAZOMENAE
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



BRONZE STATUE FROM KYTHERA
(ATHENS MUSEUM)

which in former times stood for one of the representative examples of Greek art, but it has now been more properly estimated. Nevertheless it is a first-rate work of its kind. The Vatican statue is not indeed an original, being of marble, whereas it is clear, both from the modelling and from the treatment of the drapery, which is strictly impossible in marble, that the original was of bronze. Although there are remains of his bow in the left hand, it does not appear that the god was represented in the act of shooting; the pose of the right hand, with its unstudied ease, implies that no particular action is intended, unless he may be conceived as having just let fly his arrow. A companion statue is to be found in the Artemis of Versailles in the Louvre, a figure with many similar characteristics. Both are clearly products of the Hellenistic age, and some writers have seen in the conception of the Apollo a reference to the story of his personally repelling the attacks of the Gauls on his sanctuary at Delphi. This event took place in 279 B.C.

Modern discoveries of works of the Hellenistic period have not been as numerous as those of an earlier age, but one in particular takes high rank for its artistic merit. This is the Nike (Victory) of Samothrace, now in the Louvre,[1] a statue which seems to have had a considerable reputation in antiquity, as reproductions of it appear on coins of the third century. It is earlier in date than most of the works discussed in this section, for although no record of its artist remains, we know that it was set up by Demetrios Poliorketes to celebrate a naval victory in 306 B.C. The custom of setting up such figures to commemorate victories had long been familiar to the Greeks, as we saw from the Nike of Paionios.

The goddess was represented standing on the prow of a ship, blowing a trumpet and holding a trophy; the head and arms, with part of the wings, are now wanting, but there is much to admire in what remains, in the beautiful sweep of the drapery which is blown close round her body by the wind, and floats out beyond on her left side. As a study of a figure in rapid motion it would leave nothing to be desired were it not that a certain want of repose—one might almost say sensationalism—mars the effect, and causes it to suffer by comparison with the work of Paionios and other analogous figures of fifth century style.

This account would not be complete without some mention of the now historic find of statues dredged up off the island of Cerigo

[1] Plate LV.



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(ATHENS MUSEUM)

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[1] Plate LV.

those who, having despised the Mysteries, like Oknos and the Danaids, were doomed to an existence of fruitless toil. But there is no strong distinction of good and evil; rather do the spirits repeat in the nether world the character of their life on earth. Thamyris is still blind; Eriphyle still holds the necklace which she purchased with treachery, though she suffers no punishment; and Thersites plays at dice with other heroes, or the daughters of Pandaros with knucklebones (cf. p. 159).[1]

The figures were arranged in friezes but at different levels, without any regular background or foreground, and each group was quite distinct, though not without its bearing on the main subject. Each figure was inscribed with its name; but details of landscape and such like were probably only roughly indicated by symbols, just as we see on the vases. In spite of a want of pictorial unity and the limitations imposed by architectural considerations, the painter appears to have been able to give full scope to his powers, both in details of style and in treatment of subjects. We are told that he combined the strength and firmness of archaic work with breadth of style and feeling for subjective beauty. He was essentially a character-painter, as Aristotle has described him, and his efforts to impart individuality to his figures effected a real revolution in his art, at which Pliny hints when he says that Polygnotos 'opened the mouth and gave expression to the countenance by abolishing archaic stiffness.' Aristotle says that he painted men greater than they are, while Dionysios and Pauson (two of his contemporaries) painted them respectively as they are and worse than they are.[2] And a Greek epigram says of his figure of Polyxena in another painting that 'the whole Trojan War might be read in her eyes.'

This was all the more remarkable, seeing that technical knowledge was still so backward. The colours were, as we have seen, limited to four: black, white, red, and yellow, with such varieties as could be obtained by mixing; but that remarkable effects could be produced even with these limited resources is shown by the description of the grisly demon Eurynomos, who devoured the flesh of the dead in Hades, and was painted a bluish-black like a bluebottle or meat-fly. Again, the colours were only laid on in flat tints, without gradations and without any suggestion of light-and-shade effects, or of true perspective. They produced, in fact, coloured drawings rather than genuine paintings.

[1] See for fuller descriptions the account given by Pausanias, x. 25 ff.

[2] Too much stress must not be laid on this comparison, which was also made of the three great tragic poets.

Of the general appearance of Polygnotos' paintings, we may probably gain some idea from the fifth-century vases with polychrome designs on a white ground, such as the beautiful Aphrodite cup in the British Museum (see p. 180). But his style and method of composition are better reflected in the red-figured vases, especially in those which exhibit a more pictorial treatment, and also in some sculptured monuments, notably in the Gjölbaschi-Trysa *heroön* (see p. 112). A good instance of Polygnotan composition is in a fine krater in the Louvre, dating about the middle of the fifth century, on which are painted Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobids and a group of Argonauts.[1] It is almost the earliest instance on a painted vase of figures grouped at different levels, with indications of uneven ground and perspective. Another of later date is the Blacas krater in the British Museum, with its beautiful representation of the sun rising and the stars setting in the sea.[2]

Besides his great works at Delphi, which belong to the early part of his career,[3] Polygnotos assisted Mikon and Panaenos in the decoration of the Stoa Poikile and the Anakeion at Athens, and at a later date painted pictures for the Pinakotheke or Picture Gallery in the Propylaea at the entrance to the Acropolis, erected about 435 B.C. But of these we know comparatively little, except for the description already quoted of the Polyxena from the Pinakotheke. The treatment of this subject, the sacrifice of the maiden, must have been quite in keeping with what we know of the more extensive composition at Delphi. It is interesting to compare the latter with the contemporary vases by way of illustrating Polygnotos' special characteristics.

In the vases, some of which have groups of scenes from the sack of Troy, we note a preference for the actual events of the catastrophe as affording scope for effective groups in violent action, such as the death of Priam or the seizing of Kassandra. But Polygnotos selects a later period of time—not 'the taking of Troy,' but 'Troy taken,' as a French writer phrases it—and treats the subject from the point of view of sentiment and pathos. Thus we have groups of captive Trojan women mourning, while by a contrast almost cynical, Helen, the cause of all their misfortunes, sits adorning herself among her women. In short, throughout, the contrast is maintained between the mourning Trojans and the triumphant Greeks.

[1] The latter subject is shown on Plate LXIV.

[2] See *Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1904, with plate in colours.

[3] The Trojan painting bore an inscription by the poet Simonides, who died in B.C. 466. It must be a few years previous to that date.

those who, having despised the Mysteries, like Oknos and the Danaids, were doomed to an existence of fruitless toil. But there is no strong distinction of good and evil; rather do the spirits repeat in the nether world the character of their life on earth. Thamyris is still blind; Eriphyle still holds the necklace which she purchased with treachery, though she suffers no punishment; and Thersites plays at dice with other heroes, or the daughters of Pandaros with knucklebones (cf. p. 159).[1]

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This was all the more remarkable, seeing that technical knowledge was still so backward. The colours were, as we have seen, limited to four: black, white, red, and yellow, with such varieties as could be obtained by mixing; but that remarkable effects could be produced even with these limited resources is shown by the description of the grisly demon Eurynomos, who devoured the flesh of the dead in Hades, and was painted a bluish-black like a bluebottle or meat-fly. Again, the colours were only laid on in flat tints, without gradations and without any suggestion of light-and-shade effects, or of true perspective. They produced, in fact, coloured drawings rather than genuine paintings.

[1] See for fuller descriptions the account given by Pausanias, x. 25 ff.

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POLYGNOTOS

Of the general appearance of Polygnotos' paintings, we may probably gain some idea from the fifth-century vases with polychrome designs on a white ground, such as the beautiful Aphrodite cup in the British Museum (see p. 180). But his style and method of composition are better reflected in the red-figured vases, especially in those which exhibit a more pictorial treatment, and also in some sculptured monuments, notably in the Gjölbaschi-Trysa *heroön* (see p. 112). A good instance of Polygnotan composition is in a fine krater in the Louvre, dating about the middle of the fifth century, on which are painted Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobids and a group of Argonauts.[1] It is almost the earliest instance on a painted vase of figures grouped at different levels, with indications of uneven ground and perspective. Another of later date is the Blacas krater in the British Museum, with its beautiful representation of the sun rising and the stars setting in the sea.[2]

Besides his great works at Delphi, which belong to the early part of his career,[3] Polygnotos assisted Mikon and Panaenos in the decoration of the Stoa Poikile and the Anakeion at Athens, and at a later date painted pictures for the Pinakotheke or Picture Gallery in the Propylaea at the entrance to the Acropolis, erected about 435 B.C. But of these we know comparatively little, except for the description already quoted of the Polyxena from the Pinakotheke. The treatment of this subject, the sacrifice of the maiden, must have been quite in keeping with what we know of the more extensive composition at Delphi. It is interesting to compare the latter with the contemporary vases by way of illustrating Polygnotos' special characteristics.

In the vases, some of which have groups of scenes from the sack of Troy, we note a preference for the actual events of the catastrophe as affording scope for effective groups in violent action, such as the death of Priam or the seizing of Kassandra. But Polygnotos selects a later period of time—not 'the taking of Troy,' but 'Troy taken,' as a French writer phrases it—and treats the subject from the point of view of sentiment and pathos. Thus we have groups of captive Trojan women mourning, while by a contrast almost cynical, Helen, the cause of all their misfortunes, sits adorning herself among her women. In short, throughout, the contrast is maintained between the mourning Trojans and the triumphant Greeks.

[1] The latter subject is shown on Plate LXIV.

[2] See *Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1904, with plate in colours.

[3] The Trojan painting bore an inscription by the poet Simonides, who died in B.C. 466. It must be a few years previous to that date.

The same features may be observed in the companion painting of Hades. Here the peaceful happiness of the blessed, and their simple pleasures, are thrown into relief by the melancholy figures of the damned; but the tortures of the latter are not accentuated or treated with the realism in which Dante, for instance, delights; the painter's object was to show by the expression the agonies of pain and remorse which they suffered. Not action, but attitude and expression, are the means which he adopts to express his conception, and his style has therefore been described as plastic rather than pictorial.

Of his two pupils, Mikon and Panaenos, the former was responsible for the decoration of the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Porch, at Athens, which was adorned with representations of the Battle of Marathon and of a combat of Greeks and Amazons; also for paintings in the temple of Theseus, with scenes from the life of that hero. Panaenos decorated the rails and sides of the throne of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, and we may gather from Pausanias' description that his style corresponded closely to that of his master. But the principal sphere of these three painters' work was Athens, and it was largely the Athenian local myths, such as those of Theseus, which supplied them with subjects. They always show strong instincts in the direction of sculpture, and by their means the Ionic school exercised much influence on the Attic. Professor Brunn[1] has shown us in what sense Polygnotos represented the height of Greek painting—not, as we have seen, in technical superiority, but in his choice of subjects and arrangement of compositions, in the novelty and abundance of his themes, and, above all, in his intellectual and poetic conceptions and the ideal ethical character of all his work.

Two painters of less importance, who belong to the latter half of the fifth century, are Agatharchos and Pauson. The former was chiefly noted as a scene-painter, and is said to have worked in that capacity for Aeschylus; he also decorated the house of Alcibiades. He was a very rapid painter, and excelled in interiors. It is possible that his scene-paintings showed attempts at perspective, and it has been thought that his style is reflected in some of the Lycian tomb-sculptures, such as those of Gjölbaschi (p. 112), in which buildings are represented in perspective. Pauson is mentioned in a not altogether complimentary fashion by Aristophanes, and Aristotle's saying about

[1] *Gesch. d. Gr. Künstler*, ii. p. 41 ff.

him has been already quoted. We know little of him except for a story told by Aelian that he was commissioned to paint a horse rolling. He produced a picture of a galloping horse, and on being remonstrated with, replied that it was only necessary to turn it upside down, and the purchaser would find himself satisfied!

On the other hand, Apollodoros appears as an epoch-making artist. Pliny, in fact, regarded him as the highest representative of Greek painting, and there is no doubt that he was responsible for perhaps the most important technical advance made up to this time, namely, the introduction of light-and-shade effects and gradations of colour. This virtually implied the abandonment of colour-drawing and the creation of the genuine art of painting; and he may be regarded as the first Greek picture-artist, inasmuch as his work possessed organic unity, *i.e.* all parts alike contributed to hold the eye. Under the influence of Agatharchos, and the development of scene-painting, he seems to have applied the same principles to persons. He aimed at pictorial illusion, and painted men 'as they seemed to be,' whence he was styled a 'shadow-painter.' He was an Athenian, and flourished about the end of the fifth century; it is he who has already been quoted (p. 149) as having opened the portals of art to Zeuxis. Pliny selects for commendation two of his works, representing a praying priest and Ajax struck by lightning.

The fourth century witnessed a great change in pictorial art. As was to a great extent the case with sculpture, the adornment of public buildings no longer called for the artist's chief efforts, and the easel-picture of domestic art takes the place of the monumental fresco. We now begin to perceive the influence of the Drama, which freed painting from the trammels of the sculpturesque, a result perhaps largely brought about by Agatharchos, and displayed at first in its technique rather than in the choice of subjects.

The great names of the first half of this century are Zeuxis (420-380 B.C.) and Parrhasios (slightly later in date). They are sometimes spoken of as the Ionic school, but this must only be regarded as a conventional term, indicating their origin. Zeuxis was a native of Herakleia, in Southern Italy, but settled at Ephesus after travelling all over Greece. Pliny gives a long list of his works, one of the most famous being a representation of the infant Herakles strangling the snake, another, a family of Centaurs. We can, of course, only judge of him by the criticisms of ancient writers, but there is a painting in the

house of the Vettii at Pompeii[1] which may give an idea of the Herakles picture, as well as a vase-painting.[2] In comparing him with Polygnotos, it is urged that he was neither a historical painter nor a student of *ethos* or character, but preferred striking situations and novel effects. It is recorded that on one of his pictures he placed the inscription, 'It is easier to criticise than to imitate.' But this story is also told of Apollodoros. He was also fond of producing illusions, as is testified by the well-known story of the bird and the bunch of grapes. In technique he improved upon Apollodoros.

His subjects are mainly mythological, but he was fond of introducing women and children (as in the case of the Herakles). He also shows a tendency to humanise legend, as in his picture of the family of Centaurs. The later Athenian vases (see p. 179) exemplify the tendency of the time to scenes of domestic life. His Penelope is described as a *chef-d'œuvre* of resigned sadness and chaste reserve, and his Helen at her toilet is the subject of a story which shows his carefulness in choice of models. From the maidens of the city he selected five, explaining that it was impossible otherwise to obtain perfection in all respects. Among his purely *genre* paintings, one of an old woman is recorded at which he nearly died of laughing, and also one of a boy carrying grapes, at which birds came to peck. His critics urged that if the boy had been painted as well as the grapes he would have kept away the birds. Such subjects as these find parallels in the contemporary Greek terra-cottas, among which caricatures of old women are not uncommon. He also painted a picture of the Olympian Zeus, of which an echo may be seen in a fresco recently found at Eleusis.

Parrhasios was an Ephesian who became an Athenian citizen, and of his pictures, which are mainly mythological, a long list has been preserved. At their head stands his personification of the Athenian Demos, in which its chief characteristics were all brought out. His technique was much elaborated and refined, and in the choice of subjects he was largely influenced by Euripides. Hence a tendency to emotion, especially of a tragic kind. It is of him that the story is told that he painted a curtain which his rival requested him to remove in order to view the picture behind it. He excelled in symmetry and in composition, and marks a definite rupture with archaism, being also especially noted for the sentiment expressed in his faces.

He is described as having perfected the rendering of contours by means of effects of light and shade, not merely by colour, a proceeding

[1] See Plate LXV. [2] Brit. Mus. F479.



POMPEIAN WALL-PAINTING: HERAKLES STRANGLING THE SERPENTS (AFTER ZEUXIS)
(HOUSE OF VETTII, POMPEII)





ATHENIAN PAINTINGS: TOMBSTONE OF LYSEAS, AND PAINTED TABLET WITH WARRIOR

upon Eumaros' inventions, discovered foreshortening (*catagrapha*, or *obliquae imagines*) and variations of expression, faces looking up or down or backwards; he brought out the anatomy of the limbs, gave prominence to the veins, and, further, discovered the way to reproduce the folds of draperies.' The exact meaning of the term *catagrapha* has been much disputed;[1] but it seems most probable that it implies an advance in theoretical knowledge of linear perspective, which in practice displays itself in a correct rendering of foreshortening, this being the most satisfactory rendering of *obliquae imagines*, though some have taken it to mean 'three-quarter profile.' But this is a feature which we do not find in vase-paintings before the middle of the fifth century. To sum up in a few words these successive stages of development, the Athenian artists, profiting by these various 'inventions,' were enabled first to distinguish the sexes, then to pay attention to anatomy and present figures in all kinds of attitudes, and finally, as we shall see, to turn their attention to distinguishing individuals. Portraiture was first introduced by Panaenos in his painting of the Battle of Marathon about 470 B.C.

The great paintings of this period (550-480 B.C.) were probably outline drawings with washes of colour. There are two monuments at Athens which are fairly illustrative of such a process, both dating from the last quarter of the sixth century. One is the tombstone of Lyseas, with his portrait painted in *tempera* on marble, holding a wine-cup and lustral branch.[2] The ground is red, and the figure is clad in a purple tunic and white mantle with coloured border; the branch is green, the cup black. The other is a marble disc with the seated figure of a physician named Aineos, painted in similar fashion. Both of these show a great advance in technique compared with the contemporary vases. With them may be ranked a votive terra-cotta tablet—'a whitened plaque,' like those of Kraton—found on the Acropolis of Athens.[3] The design is in black outlines on a cream-coloured ground, with accessory colours, and represents a warrior, within a frame of black and purple lines. His nude parts are brown, the drapery and the patterns on his armour black, and the inscription and various details in purple. This also belongs to the end of the sixth century, and gives perhaps the best idea of the painting of that time at Athens. It may be noted that the four colours employed correspond to those which Polygnotos is said to have used (see above, p. 141).

In the Etruscan tomb-paintings, which in a measure fill up the gap

[1] Pliny seems to have thought that it meant 'profile-drawing.' [2] Plate LXII. [3] *Ibid.*

caused by the absence of early Greek frescoes, the traditions of Corinthian artists are largely upheld, bearing out the received view that the Etruscans learned their art from Corinthian immigrants in the seventh century. This nation was remarkable for its love of colour, as exemplified in their statues and architecture, and especially in the decoration of their tombs. The earliest examples of painting are from a tomb at Veii, decorated with animals of a very archaic type, with preternaturally elongated proportions; these paintings date from the seventh century, and closely resemble in style the contemporary Corinthian vases. A better and more advanced example of Etruscan achievement in this line is furnished by a series of slabs from tombs at Cervetri (Caere), some of which are in the British Museum, others in the Louvre; they belong to the beginning of the sixth century.[1]

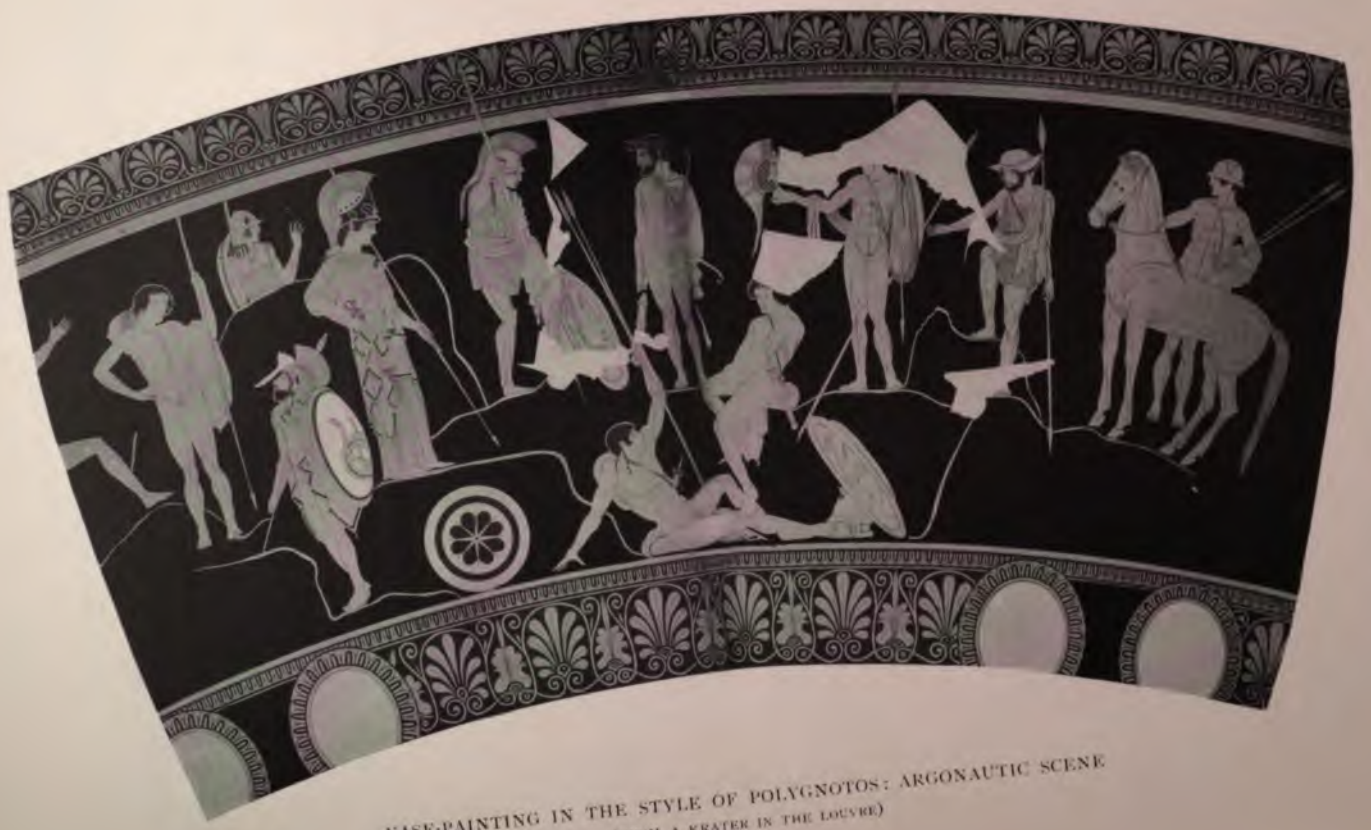
It is not until we have reached the stage at which the art of vase-painting has attained its zenith and almost begun to degenerate that the history of Painting proper begins to emerge from the obscurity of tradition into the light of trustworthy records. The name with which this epoch is above all others associated is that of Polygnotos, a native of Thasos, who occupies the same place in regard to Painting as Pheidias in regard to Sculpture. But it must be remembered that the art did not attain to perfection under Polygnotos; the spirit of his work is the same idealising and ennobling spirit which characterises the contemporary master, but he had not, like Pheidias, the complete mastery over technical processes, which in regard to painting was not fully attained for another century. His real achievement was to separate the art from the handicraft, and to mark the epoch at which the independent history of Greek painting begins. Hence he was said by one writer to have 'invented' painting.

The mere draughtsmanship—that is, the simple outlines filled in with colour—of the early fifth century was obviously susceptible of further improvement. Much was done by Polygnotos, who permitted the draperies to reveal the body beneath, and showed how to give movement, not only to the body as Kimon did, but to the face. Then, the capacities of this limited technique being exhausted, a later artist, as we shall see (p. 153), by discovering how to blend light and shade, first gave to objects their real semblance, thus contributing to painting its most important factor, and 'opening the gates of art' to the great masters Zeuxis and Parrhasios.

[1] One of the Museum slabs is given on Plate LXIII.



WALL-PAINTING FROM A TOMB AT CERVETRI
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



VASE-PAINTING IN THE STYLE OF POLYGNOTOS: ARGONAUTIC SCENE
(FROM A KRATER IN THE LOUVRE)

POLYGNOTOS

As an ancient writer has well expressed it: 'In ancient paintings the scheme and colouring are simple, without variety of tone, but the lines are rendered with exquisite perfection, thus lending to early works a singular grace. This purity of draughtsmanship was gradually lost, and its place taken by a learned technique, by differentiation of light and shade, and by the full resources of rich colouring to which the works of later artists owe their strength.'[1]

The impetus to the new movement was given by the changes at Athens under Kimon and Pericles, when public buildings were being erected to commemorate great events (see p. 89), and it was deemed appropriate to decorate them with great historical or mythological compositions, both in marble and in fresco. Hence artists like Polygnotos were attracted to Athens and became public characters; his artistic career extends over the period from 475 to 430 B.C., and he became the head of a school which included two other famous painters, Mikon and Panaenos. His chief work was the decoration of the Lesche or Assembly Room, at Delphi, the subjects being the Sack of Troy and a Vision of Hades. Of these we have a full description by Pausanias, which has enabled scholars (aided by carefully-selected vase-paintings) to make a fairly probable reconstruction of the whole.[2]

In the Trojan picture the central scene depicted the Greek heroes assembled to judge Ajax for his outrage on Kassandra, who was seated on the ground, still clinging to the image of Athena at which she had sought protection. Troy appeared in the background, with the head of the wooden horse rising above the walls, which were being demolished by Epeios. On either side of this scene were represented wild scenes of destruction: Neoptolemos pursuing his murderous career, the Trojan women lamenting with Andromache, and Medesikaste and Polyxena the daughters of Priam. Priam is represented seated in despair, but Helen preserves a haughty aloofness. Antenor alone is able to make a peaceful departure with his family. At one end of the fresco Menelaos is seen striking his tent and preparing for his homeward voyage.

The setting of the scene in Hades is suggested by the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*, where Odysseus conjures up the shades of the departed, on the shores of the reedy Acheron, where Charon is seen in his bark. Among the company of shades are many heroes, and typical figures suffering punishments, watched over by Eurynomos, a demon of savage aspect. These include Tityos, Tantalos, and Sisyphos, and

[1] See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *Pliny's Chapters on Art*, p. xxxi.

[2] See especially C. Robert's *Iliupersis des Polygnot* and *Nekyia des Polygnot* (Halle, 1892-93).

those who, having despised the Mysteries, like Oknos and the Danaids, were doomed to an existence of fruitless toil. But there is no strong distinction of good and evil; rather do the spirits repeat in the nether world the character of their life on earth. Thamyris is still blind; Eriphyle still holds the necklace which she purchased with treachery, though she suffers no punishment; and Thersites plays at dice with other heroes, or the daughters of Pandaros with knucklebones (cf. p. 159).[1]

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Besides his great works at Delphi, which belong to the early part of his career,[3] Polygnotos assisted Mikon and Panaenos in the decoration of the Stoa Poikile and the Anakeion at Athens, and at a later date painted pictures for the Pinakotheke or Picture Gallery in the Propylaea at the entrance to the Acropolis, erected about 435 B.C. But of these we know comparatively little, except for the description already quoted of the Polyxena from the Pinakotheke. The treatment of this subject, the sacrifice of the maiden, must have been quite in keeping with what we know of the more extensive composition at Delphi. It is interesting to compare the latter with the contemporary vases by way of illustrating Polygnotos' special characteristics.

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[2] Brit. Mus. F479.

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This period represents the struggle towards the establishment of pictorial art as such, a steady advance from Kimon to Zeuxis, on whom Parrhasios hardly improves, being distinguished more for careful work than for skill. On the whole, however, the work of the period, in spite of the great technical advances, shows considerable decline in nobility of conception from the time of Polygnotos. In the following period, during the fourth century, we may trace the growth of realism in the schools of Attica, Ionia, and Sikyon.

The last-named school was one of instruction in scientific theory and principles, and aimed chiefly at academic accuracy and perfection. It was represented by the names of Eupompos, Melanthios, Pamphilos, and Pausias. Eupompos, the founder of the school, greatly influenced Lysippos by his naturalism; Pamphilos was a great teacher of theory, and introduced drawing into schools; and Melanthios excelled in the study of perspective, and surpassed Apelles in composition. Pausias painted pictures on a small scale, and was the first to excel in encaustic. He also introduced the practice of painting the coffers of ceilings with figures of flying Erotes and other devices.[1] He seems to have been an exception to the rest of the school—a born decorator, who liked small pictures, and had more fancy than the others. He originated the precious and mannered art of the Hellenistic Age, and

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The same features may be observed in the companion painting of Hades. Here the peaceful happiness of the blessed, and their simple pleasures, are thrown into relief by the melancholy figures of the damned; but the tortures of the latter are not accentuated or treated with the realism in which Dante, for instance, delights; the painter's object was to show by the expression the agonies of pain and remorse which they suffered. Not action, but attitude and expression, are the means which he adopts to express his conception, and his style has therefore been described as plastic rather than pictorial.

Of his two pupils, Mikon and Panaenos, the former was responsible for the decoration of the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Porch, at Athens, which was adorned with representations of the Battle of Marathon and of a combat of Greeks and Amazons; also for paintings in the temple of Theseus, with scenes from the life of that hero. Panaenos decorated the rails and sides of the throne of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, and we may gather from Pausanias' description that his style corresponded closely to that of his master. But the principal sphere of these three painters' work was Athens, and it was largely the Athenian local myths, such as those of Theseus, which supplied them with subjects. They always show strong instincts in the direction of sculpture, and by their means the Ionic school exercised much influence on the Attic. Professor Brunn[1] has shown us in what sense Polygnotos represented the height of Greek painting—not, as we have seen, in technical superiority, but in his choice of subjects and arrangement of compositions, in the novelty and abundance of his themes, and, above all, in his intellectual and poetic conceptions and the ideal ethical character of all his work.

Two painters of less importance, who belong to the latter half of the fifth century, are Agatharchos and Pauson. The former was chiefly noted as a scene-painter, and is said to have worked in that capacity for Aeschylus; he also decorated the house of Alcibiades. He was a very rapid painter, and excelled in interiors. It is possible that his scene-paintings showed attempts at perspective, and it has been thought that his style is reflected in some of the Lycian tomb-sculptures, such as those of Gjölbaschi (p. 112), in which buildings are represented in perspective. Pauson is mentioned in a not altogether complimentary fashion by Aristophanes, and Aristotle's saying about

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was fond of painting children. He invented a new process of *chiar-oscuro*, and among his achievements we read of wonderful foreshortening effects in a picture of oxen at a sacrifice, and of his imitating the transparency of glass in a picture of Methe—a personification of inebriety—drinking from a glass vessel, through which her face was visible.

The Attic, or rather Theban-Attic, school is represented by Aristeides, Euphranor, Nikomachos, and Nikias, and its reign has been described as the Golden Age of Painting. They were less careful in regard to theory and technique than the Sikyonian masters, and devoted themselves especially to large compositions, giving scope for the display of expression and emotion. In the serious and noble subjects which they affected, we see a return to the grand decorative art of the preceding century.

Aristeides painted the passions, and one of his most famous pictures was of a dying mother in a siege. It was carried off by Alexander the Great to his capital Pella. Euphranor is also known as a sculptor, and Nikias was an encaustic painter. The latter was employed by Praxiteles to touch up his statues (see p. 64 for the process implied), and was remarkable for his power of making his figures stand out from their background. It is probable that he exercised considerable influence on the painters of the succeeding century. Allusion has been made (p. 141) to a painted tombstone by him at Tritaea in Achaia, and a famous painting of Io found on the Palatine at Rome is doubtless a reminiscence of one of his subjects. The former may be compared with a fourth-century painting found in Attica, on the tombstone of one Tokkes of Aphyte; the colours are now lost, but the marble appears to have been painted in body-colour without any engraving or marking of details by *traits réservés*, *i.e.* leaving parts of the surface clear of pigment.[1]

With the age of Alexander the Great we reach the time of the great Apelles, regarded by the ancients as the highest point attained by Greek painting. He was probably a native of Asia Minor, but lived in various parts of Greece, and at one time was in high favour at the court of Alexander the Great, where he enjoyed the same exclusive privileges as Lysippos. The period during which he worked was practically coincident with the second half of the fourth century; he belonged to no school, and had no successor. Among the list of pictures recorded under his name there is a large proportion of portraits and allegorical subjects, but not a few are mythological in their scope.

[1] See *Athen. Mittheil. des arch. Inst.*, 1880, pl. 6, p. 164 ff.

Among the latter was the famous painting of Aphrodite rising from the sea (Anadyomene), which was made for the temple of Asklepios at Kos and carried off to Rome by Augustus. He used a living model for the figure of the goddess, who was depicted rising half out of the waves and wringing the water out of her hair. The praises of the picture are frequently sung in the Greek Anthology, and it was imitated in statuettes of bronze and terra-cotta, and in later paintings, and may also be said to have inspired the famous painting by Botticelli.

He also showed a predilection for deified abstractions and personifications. Among his allegorical subjects, the best known is a painting of Calumny, a seated man with long ears, surrounded by Slander, Envy, Ignorance, and other personifications, which is described by Lucian. Of Alexander the Great he painted a famous portrait for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, in a sort of *chiaroscuro* or Rembrandt style; the conqueror was represented with the attribute of Zeus, the thunderbolt. Many other portraits of the great king are also recorded, and others of Philip and other contemporary princes.

Apelles painted almost exclusively in *tempera*, and his technical skill was extraordinary, especially in light-and-shade effects, in flesh-tones, and in the drawing of lines, which as we know from his famous saying, *Nulla dies sine linea*, he was always practising. He was proud of the grace of his work, which seems to have been its especial distinction, but thought his contemporary Protogenes a better painter. Numerous anecdotes are told about him, some of which are very familiar, such as the story of the cobbler and his last, or that of his visit to Protogenes, on whose wall he drew a fine circle, which the latter artist eclipsed by drawing a finer one over it; but Apelles, not to be outdone, drew yet a third line of even greater fineness. He is described as painting only in four colours, white, yellow, red, and black, like Polygnotos, but this is obviously untrue. Pliny also states that he covered all his pictures with a thin black glaze or varnish, which had the double effect of softening and preserving them. In him Greek technical skill reached the height of perfection; but his compositions were sometimes weak and careless. He was eclectic rather than inventive; yet the general verdict was that he was the most perfect painter Greece produced.

His contemporary and rival, Protogenes, was a native of Kaunos on the coast of Caria. He is said to have been very poor, and to have earned a living by decorating the prows of ships. He lived and worked mainly at Rhodes, where he painted a picture of Ialysos, a

personification of one of the cities of the island, hunting with his dog. In connection therewith the story is told of his accidentally obtaining the effect of the foam on the dog's mouth by throwing a sponge, in despair, at his picture. This story is also told of Apelles painting a horse. The Ialysos is said to have taken him eleven years to complete. He painted a picture of the Paralos or State-ship, which hung in the Propylaea, in the National Gallery of Athens, and also wrote treatises on painting. He is spoken of as having given a very high finish to his pictures, which concerned themselves for the most part with sensational and dramatic or homely *genre* subjects.

Another painter of the period who ranked very high was Antiphilos, an artist distinguished for his facility and many-sidedness. He painted both in *tempera* and encaustic, and his subjects were very varied. They are mostly typical of the tendency to *genre* in the Hellenistic period; and some of his pictures, such as those of a boy blowing up a fire and women preparing wool, would probably remind us of Teniers and the Dutch school of the seventeenth century. He was also fond of caricatures and grotesque combinations of figures, known as *grylli*, such as are sometimes seen on ancient gems. He painted a picture of Hippolytos terrified by the bull which caused his death, a subject which finds an interesting parallel in a contemporary vase-painting in the British Museum.

Aëtion (350-320 B.C.), another noted painter of the time, was also characteristic of his age in his combination of realism and allegorical fancies. Lucian describes his picture of the marriage of Alexander and Roxana, which probably served as a model for the Aldobrandini painting of a wedding, preserved at Rome. He was the first to introduce the sportive Cupids which play so large a part in the Pompeian paintings and the art of the Renaissance.

Theon of Samos painted a set of scenes of the Trojan War, which may be regarded as the earliest instance of 'illustrations of the classics.' He aimed at illusive effects in his work. In the succeeding period, the third century, there is only one name of note, that of Timomachos of Byzantium, who painted famous pictures of Ajax recovering from his madness and Medea on the point of slaying her children; the latter is reproduced in a Pompeian painting, here, as in so many cases, our only source of information as to the appearance of the greater artists' works.

The only real advance made in painting subsequently to the fourth century is in landscape, which by the end of the Hellenistic period

had progressed far from the days of Polygnotos, when it was merely indicated, as on the painted vases. The tendency in this direction is also to be observed in the sculptured reliefs of the period, and in such works as the Farnese Bull (pp. 133, 137). In the Pompeian wall-paintings and others of the period, as in the scenes from the *Odyssey* found on the Esquiline at Rome,[1] and in some of the representations of the death of Ikaros, it is represented with great success; and in the later Pompeian paintings it reached a very elaborate stage of development, but one that belongs more properly to the domain of Roman Art.

The achievements of the Hellenistic age, in painting as in other branches of art, show us that, as a French writer has said, 'it was a prolongation of the Hellenic age, but one in which the power of invention was lost, and the painters of the time only followed in the steps of their predecessors. Though it was a decadence, it was a decadence full of grace, and Greek civilisation, while dying out, was yet educating the world.'[2]

The record of Greek painting is for the most part a dry and unsatisfying list of names, and a *réchauffé* of more or less trustworthy criticisms; nor can we ever hope to find ourselves in a better position in this respect. From time to time, however, monuments are brought to light which afford a glimmer of illumination on the subject, such as the great mosaic representing Alexander and Dareios at the battle of the Issos,[3] which doubtless reflects some great painted composition of earlier date; the figure of Alexander may even go back to an original by Apelles. Or again, there are the charming easel-paintings of Herculaneum, which evidently go back to earlier prototypes. The best-known of these are a picture of Demeter giving drink to a tired Seilenos, and the pretty subject of the daughters of Pandaros playing at the game of knucklebones, the latter signed by Alexandros of Athens;[4] the red outlines of the figures alone remain, but sufficient to indicate the grace of the drawing. Professor Robert assigns the latter picture to an original by Apollodoros of about 420 B.C. The shading is what would be expected of an artist who had advanced on Polygnotos.

There is also a series of paintings from the Cyrenaica in North Africa, found in tombs, which represent musical and tragic choruses, and others from Kertch in the Crimea, among which is a lyre painted with the subject of the rape of the Leukippidae by Castor and Pollux. Lastly, there is the series of Greek mummy-paintings found in the

[1] Cf. Vitr. vii. 5.
[2] Girard, *Peinture Antique*, p. 245.
[3] See Plate LXVI.
[4] Plate LXVII.

those who, having despised the Mysteries, like Oknos and the Danaids, were doomed to an existence of fruitless toil. But there is no strong distinction of good and evil; rather do the spirits repeat in the nether world the character of their life on earth. Thamyris is still blind; Eriphyle still holds the necklace which she purchased with treachery, though she suffers no punishment; and Thersites plays at dice with other heroes, or the daughters of Pandaros with knucklebones (cf. p. 159).[1]

The figures were arranged in friezes but at different levels, without any regular background or foreground, and each group was quite distinct, though not without its bearing on the main subject. Each figure was inscribed with its name; but details of landscape and such like were probably only roughly indicated by symbols, just as we see on the vases. In spite of a want of pictorial unity and the limitations imposed by architectural considerations, the painter appears to have been able to give full scope to his powers, both in details of style and in treatment of subjects. We are told that he combined the strength and firmness of archaic work with breadth of style and feeling for subjective beauty. He was essentially a character-painter, as Aristotle has described him, and his efforts to impart individuality to his figures effected a real revolution in his art, at which Pliny hints when he says that Polygnotos 'opened the mouth and gave expression to the countenance by abolishing archaic stiffness.' Aristotle says that he painted men greater than they are, while Dionysios and Pauson (two of his contemporaries) painted them respectively as they are and worse than they are.[2] And a Greek epigram says of his figure of Polyxena in another painting that 'the whole Trojan War might be read in her eyes.'

This was all the more remarkable, seeing that technical knowledge was still so backward. The colours were, as we have seen, limited to four: black, white, red, and yellow, with such varieties as could be obtained by mixing; but that remarkable effects could be produced even with these limited resources is shown by the description of the grisly demon Eurynomos, who devoured the flesh of the dead in Hades, and was painted a bluish-black like a bluebottle or meat-fly. Again, the colours were only laid on in flat tints, without gradations and without any suggestion of light-and-shade effects, or of true perspective. They produced, in fact, coloured drawings rather than genuine paintings.

[1] See for fuller descriptions the account given by Pausanias, x. 25 ff.

[2] Too much stress must not be laid on this comparison, which was also made of the three great tragic poets.

POLYGNOTOS

Of the general appearance of Polygnotos' paintings, we may probably gain some idea from the fifth-century vases with polychrome designs on a white ground, such as the beautiful Aphrodite cup in the British Museum (see p. 180). But his style and method of composition are better reflected in the red-figured vases, especially in those which exhibit a more pictorial treatment, and also in some sculptured monuments, notably in the Gjölbaschi-Trysa *heroön* (see p. 112). A good instance of Polygnotan composition is in a fine krater in the Louvre, dating about the middle of the fifth century, on which are painted Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobids and a group of Argonauts.[1] It is almost the earliest instance on a painted vase of figures grouped at different levels, with indications of uneven ground and perspective. Another of later date is the Blacas krater in the British Museum, with its beautiful representation of the sun rising and the stars setting in the sea.[2]

Besides his great works at Delphi, which belong to the early part of his career,[3] Polygnotos assisted Mikon and Panaenos in the decoration of the Stoa Poikile and the Anakeion at Athens, and at a later date painted pictures for the Pinakotheke or Picture Gallery in the Propylaea at the entrance to the Acropolis, erected about 435 B.C. But of these we know comparatively little, except for the description already quoted of the Polyxena from the Pinakotheke. The treatment of this subject, the sacrifice of the maiden, must have been quite in keeping with what we know of the more extensive composition at Delphi. It is interesting to compare the latter with the contemporary vases by way of illustrating Polygnotos' special characteristics.

In the vases, some of which have groups of scenes from the sack of Troy, we note a preference for the actual events of the catastrophe as affording scope for effective groups in violent action, such as the death of Priam or the seizing of Kassandra. But Polygnotos selects a later period of time—not 'the taking of Troy,' but 'Troy taken,' as a French writer phrases it—and treats the subject from the point of view of sentiment and pathos. Thus we have groups of captive Trojan women mourning, while by a contrast almost cynical, Helen, the cause of all their misfortunes, sits adorning herself among her women. In short, throughout, the contrast is maintained between the mourning Trojans and the triumphant Greeks.

[1] The latter subject is shown on Plate LXIV.

[2] See *Burlington Magazine*, Sept. 1904, with plate in colours.

[3] The Trojan painting bore an inscription by the poet Simonides, who died in B.C. 466. It must be a few years previous to that date.

The same features may be observed in the companion painting of Hades. Here the peaceful happiness of the blessed, and their simple pleasures, are thrown into relief by the melancholy figures of the damned; but the tortures of the latter are not accentuated or treated with the realism in which Dante, for instance, delights; the painter's object was to show by the expression the agonies of pain and remorse which they suffered. Not action, but attitude and expression, are the means which he adopts to express his conception, and his style has therefore been described as plastic rather than pictorial.

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him has been already quoted. We know little of him except for a story told by Aelian that he was commissioned to paint a horse rolling. He produced a picture of a galloping horse, and on being remonstrated with, replied that it was only necessary to turn it upside down, and the purchaser would find himself satisfied!

On the other hand, Apollodoros appears as an epoch-making artist. Pliny, in fact, regarded him as the highest representative of Greek painting, and there is no doubt that he was responsible for perhaps the most important technical advance made up to this time, namely, the introduction of light-and-shade effects and gradations of colour. This virtually implied the abandonment of colour-drawing and the creation of the genuine art of painting; and he may be regarded as the first Greek picture-artist, inasmuch as his work possessed organic unity, *i.e.* all parts alike contributed to hold the eye. Under the influence of Agatharchos, and the development of scene-painting, he seems to have applied the same principles to persons. He aimed at pictorial illusion, and painted men 'as they seemed to be,' whence he was styled a 'shadow-painter.' He was an Athenian, and flourished about the end of the fifth century; it is he who has already been quoted (p. 149) as having opened the portals of art to Zeuxis. Pliny selects for commendation two of his works, representing a praying priest and Ajax struck by lightning.

The fourth century witnessed a great change in pictorial art. As was to a great extent the case with sculpture, the adornment of public buildings no longer called for the artist's chief efforts, and the easel-picture of domestic art takes the place of the monumental fresco. We now begin to perceive the influence of the Drama, which freed painting from the trammels of the sculpturesque, a result perhaps largely brought about by Agatharchos, and displayed at first in its technique rather than in the choice of subjects.

The great names of the first half of this century are Zeuxis (420-380 B.C.) and Parrhasios (slightly later in date). They are sometimes spoken of as the Ionic school, but this must only be regarded as a conventional term, indicating their origin. Zeuxis was a native of Herakleia, in Southern Italy, but settled at Ephesus after travelling all over Greece. Pliny gives a long list of his works, one of the most famous being a representation of the infant Herakles strangling the snake, another, a family of Centaurs. We can, of course, only judge of him by the criticisms of ancient writers, but there is a painting in the

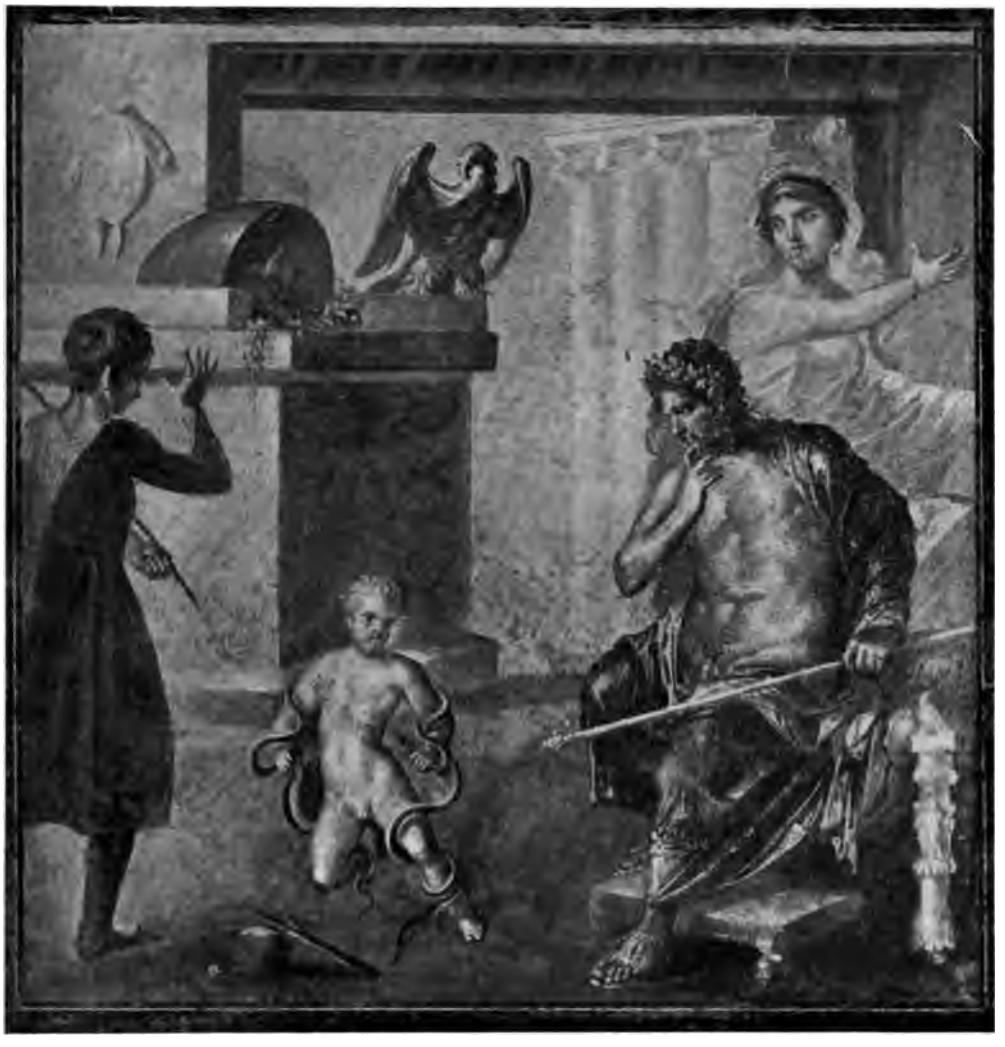
house of the Vettii at Pompeii[1] which may give an idea of the Herakles picture, as well as a vase-painting.[2] In comparing him with Polygnotos, it is urged that he was neither a historical painter nor a student of *ethos* or character, but preferred striking situations and novel effects. It is recorded that on one of his pictures he placed the inscription, 'It is easier to criticise than to imitate.' But this story is also told of Apollodoros. He was also fond of producing illusions, as is testified by the well-known story of the bird and the bunch of grapes. In technique he improved upon Apollodoros.

His subjects are mainly mythological, but he was fond of introducing women and children (as in the case of the Herakles). He also shows a tendency to humanise legend, as in his picture of the family of Centaurs. The later Athenian vases (see p. 179) exemplify the tendency of the time to scenes of domestic life. His Penelope is described as a *chef-d'œuvre* of resigned sadness and chaste reserve, and his Helen at her toilet is the subject of a story which shows his carefulness in choice of models. From the maidens of the city he selected five, explaining that it was impossible otherwise to obtain perfection in all respects. Among his purely *genre* paintings, one of an old woman is recorded at which he nearly died of laughing, and also one of a boy carrying grapes, at which birds came to peck. His critics urged that if the boy had been painted as well as the grapes he would have kept away the birds. Such subjects as these find parallels in the contemporary Greek terra-cottas, among which caricatures of old women are not uncommon. He also painted a picture of the Olympian Zeus, of which an echo may be seen in a fresco recently found at Eleusis.

Parrhasios was an Ephesian who became an Athenian citizen, and of his pictures, which are mainly mythological, a long list has been preserved. At their head stands his personification of the Athenian Demos, in which its chief characteristics were all brought out. His technique was much elaborated and refined, and in the choice of subjects he was largely influenced by Euripides. Hence a tendency to emotion, especially of a tragic kind. It is of him that the story is told that he painted a curtain which his rival requested him to remove in order to view the picture behind it. He excelled in symmetry and in composition, and marks a definite rupture with archaism, being also especially noted for the sentiment expressed in his faces.

He is described as having perfected the rendering of contours by means of effects of light and shade, not merely by colour, a proceeding

[1] See Plate LXV. [2] Brit. Mus. F479.



POMPEIAN WALL-PAINTING: HERAKLES STRANGLING THE SERPENTS (AFTER ZEUXIS)
(HOUSE OF VETTII, POMPEII)



MOSAIC REPRESENTING THE BATTLE OF THE ISSUS (POMPEII)

described as 'the height of subtlety.' Pliny lays down the rule that contours 'should appear to fold back and embrace the object so as to give assurance of the parts behind, and suggest even what they conceal.'

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The last-named school was one of instruction in scientific theory and principles, and aimed chiefly at academic accuracy and perfection. It was represented by the names of Eupompos, Melanthios, Pamphilos, and Pausias. Eupompos, the founder of the school, greatly influenced Lysippos by his naturalism; Pamphilos was a great teacher of theory, and introduced drawing into schools; and Melanthios excelled in the study of perspective, and surpassed Apelles in composition. Pausias painted pictures on a small scale, and was the first to excel in encaustic. He also introduced the practice of painting the coffers of ceilings with figures of flying Erotes and other devices.[1] He seems to have been an exception to the rest of the school—a born decorator, who liked small pictures, and had more fancy than the others. He originated the precious and mannered art of the Hellenistic Age, and

[1] On a coffer from the ceiling of the Nereid monument, in the British Museum (p. 121), may be seen traces of a painted head, which is an illustration of this new practice, and dates from the beginning of this century.

Fayûm district of Egypt, which, though much later in date, yet still belong to Greek art. They are painted on wood, and date from the first to the third century after Christ. They are purely funerary in character, and actually represent a survival of old beliefs, taking the place of the ancient modelled masks, examples of which are discussed in the chapter on Terra-cottas. They were painted on the front of the mummies, as if to represent the face of the corpse seen through the opening. The expressions are remarkably life-like, and some of the types of faces are most modern in appearance, the masculine faces comparable with those of some old Italian masters, the feminine with studies by Greuze.

Nor must we ignore the light that Etruscan tomb-paintings throw on Greek art, just as do their bronzes and other monuments. The earlier paintings, which have already been mentioned (p. 148) are more influenced by the vases of Corinth and Ionia, but the tomb-paintings of Corneto and others, which date from the fifth to the third century B.C., technically at any rate reflect the spirit of the greater Greek paintings. The subjects are mainly dances, banquets, and such-like, or travesties of Greek mythology, introducing such figures as Charon transformed into a repulsive monster. They are partly imitative, partly inventive, the latter characteristics being manifested in their sombre realism, the former in details of costume, and in the colouring and design.

Even more valuable for this purpose is the great sarcophagus found at Corneto in 1869,[1] which has already been adduced as an example of *tempera* painting on marble (p. 141). Its date is the end of the fourth century, and the subject is a battle of Greeks and Amazons. Although the sculptured work is purely Etruscan, the paintings are, if not by a Greek artist, yet by an Etruscan altogether imbued with Greek notions and Greek feeling. They may perhaps give us an idea of the work of Euphranor or Nikias. The colours are extremely rich and vivid, and on the whole well preserved; the style of the composition reminds us of the contemporary painted vases of Southern Italy, except that in place of their comparative tameness the whole is instinct with vigour and passion; and it is difficult to refrain from the thought that there must be an endeavour, conscious or unconscious, to reproduce the great works in sculpture of the highest period, such as the friezes of Phigaleia and the Mausoleum.

[1] See *Journ. Hellen. Stud.*, iv. p. 354 ff., and pls. 36-38 for a reproduction in colours. Plate LXVIII. is reproduced from the first of these plates.



PAINTING FROM HERCULANEUM BY ALEXANDROS:
THE DAUGHTERS OF PANDAROS PLAYING KNUCKLEBONES



PAINTING FROM SARCOPHAGUS AT CORNETO: COMBAT OF GREEK AND AMAZON

CHAPTER IX

GREEK VASES

Greek origin, not Etruscan—Uses of Greek vases—Shapes—Technical methods—Classification—Primitive Ionic and Corinthian fabrics—Attic Black-figured vases—The Red-figure period—White-ground vases—Vase-painting in Southern Italy—Decadence of the art.

IT may perhaps be advisable to preface this chapter with a word of warning as to the popular use of the term 'Etruscan' in reference to the painted vases of the Greeks—a term which arose in the eighteenth century, when Etruria was almost the only region in which they had been found, and although even then strongly combated, was so stoutly upheld by Italian scholars with patriotic instincts that it has since held its ground with all the tenacity of such popular errors. It is only necessary now-a-days to visit the museum at Athens, where hundreds of painted vases, all similar in form, technique, and subjects to those found in Italy, have been collected together from exclusively Hellenic sites, to prove the utter baselessness of the old Etruscan theory. In point of fact, there was no branch of art in which the Etruscans showed themselves so unsuccessful as that of painted pottery, as the few remains of genuine Etruscan products clearly show. The fact that the great majority of painted vases of the best period have been found in the tombs of Etruria, and especially at Vulci, can only be explained by supposing that they happened to catch the taste of Italian noblemen and others for whose benefit they were imported in large numbers so long as the fashion prevailed.

Generally speaking, all the painted vases have been found in tombs, whether in Greece, Italy, or elsewhere. Exceptions are to be found in the case of certain temple-sites, where votive offerings of all kinds were made to the presiding deities, and among them vases, often with dedicatory inscriptions, which chance has preserved to us, though usually in a fragmentary condition. On the Acropolis of Athens,

among the *débris* caused by the sack of the citadel by the Persians in 480 B.C. and the subsequent rebuilding operations, numbers of fragments of these votive paintings, many of unique beauty and interest, have been brought to light; and similar results have been obtained at Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta, at Corinth, and elsewhere.

The sites on which tomb-finds have been made cover a large area, extending from Sardinia to Cyprus, and from the Crimea to North Africa. In Italy the chief discoveries have been made at Vulci, Corneto, and Cervetri in Etruria, at Nola and Capua in Campania, and at Ruvo in Apulia, as well as in many less-known places. In Sicily, especially at Terranuova (Gela), Greek vases are not uncommon; and many of these, as well as the later examples from Southern Italy, are probably not imported but the work of local hands, of Greek artists resident in the colonies of Magna Graecia.

In Greece proper, Athens and the neighbourhood have yielded the greater proportion of all periods; at Corinth and in Boeotia, the finds are mainly of primitive and early local types. Among the islands, Crete, Melos, and Thera are each remarkable for primitive local fabrics; and in Rhodes large numbers of all dates have been found. From Asia Minor the finds on the mainland are comparatively rare; while the pottery of Cyprus is of a unique and quasi-Oriental character, with occasional importations of Greek wares. The vases of Kertch in the Crimea and Cyrene on the coast of Africa are mainly of late date, illustrating the work of potters who migrated from Athens in the waning period of that city's art.

The purposes for which painted vases were used by the ancients have been the subject of some dispute; but the fact of their being so largely found in tombs tends to show that this was a main object of their manufacture. In regard to certain classes this was undoubtedly their exclusive purpose, as the subjects depicted on them imply, apart from other evidence. Such are the Athenian polychrome *lekythi* and many of the late vases of Southern Italy. It is curious that there is hardly more than one passage in classical writers which alludes to these vases, in spite of the large part they seem to have played in Greek artistic and daily life. Aristophanes, however, speaks of one who painted *lekythi* with figures for the dead, and Pindar sings of the decorated prize-vases won by the victors in the Panathenaic games; for the rest, the vases must speak for themselves.

In connection with funeral ceremonies, they were doubtless placed

round the corpse when it was laid out for burial, and filled with oil and fragrant perfumes; then, as the painted funeral vases sometimes indicate, they were ranged on or round the tomb; and, finally, a varying number were placed inside the tomb round the corpse. The primary reason of this was the universal belief of the Greeks, as of other nations, that the dead required in a future existence all the objects of which they made use in their daily life. In some cases the vases appear to have been deliberately broken, with the idea that the dead person could only use what was 'dead' also.

In daily life it is probable that the use of painted vases was largely analogous to the modern use of china. The ordinary household utensils, such as drinking-cups, wine-jugs, and pitchers for fetching water, would be—when not of metal—made of earthenware, *i.e.* of plain pottery unpainted and often unglazed; while the more valuable and elaborate specimens would be applied to the decoration of the house, or only used on special occasions. Some shapes are obviously adapted for hanging up against a wall; while the fact that on many of the later vases the decoration of one side is markedly inferior to the other seems to show that they were placed where only one side was to be seen. Certain vases again were given as prizes in the games; others with complimentary inscriptions may have been given as presents.

Although hardly applying to the painted vases, it may be worth while to allude to another use made by the Greeks of their pottery, in the Athenian system of ostracism (so-called from *ostrakon*, a potsherd, *lit.*, oyster-shell), in which the names of those persons whom it was desired to banish were inscribed on fragments of pottery. Some of these have been preserved to us, bearing the names of such well-known personages as Themistocles, and Xanthippos, the father of Pericles.

The accompanying illustrations are intended to give a notion of the most typical forms favoured by the Greek potters; but each form usually varies at different periods, sometimes more, sometimes less, and some again are only found in early or in late times. Some again had special periods of popularity, as at Athens, where first the amphora, then the kylix, and finally the lekythos almost reign supreme.

The *amphora* (1) and *stamnos* (2) were two-handled jars used for storing wine or food; the *krater* or mixing-bowl (3) held the mixture of wine and water for banquets, from which it was drawn out by means of a ladle or *kyathos* (4), and poured out for the guests from the *oinochoe* (5), which resembled the modern beer-jug. The *lebes* (6) was placed on a stand or tripod, and used for boiling water; the


Amphora (1)
Stamnos (2)
Krater (3)
Kyathos (4)
Oinochoe (5)
Lebes (6)
Hydria (7)
Kylix (8)
Kotyle (9)
Kantharos (10)
Rhyton (11)
Phiale (12)
Lekythos (13)
Alabastron (14)
Aryballos (15)
Askos (16)
Pyxis (17)

Fig. 14.

hydria (7), a three-handled pitcher, for carrying water from the well, as often depicted on the vases. The shapes of Greek drinking-cups are, as a rule, exceedingly beautiful, especially in the red-figure period; the chief varieties are the *kylix* or goblet (8), the *kotyle* or beaker (9), the *kantharos* or wine-cup (10), and the *rhyton* or drinking-horn (11), usually fashioned in the form of an animal's head. The *phiale* (12), a shallow bowl, was used for libations. The *lekythos* (13) and its varieties the *alabastron* (14), *aryballos* (15), and *askos* (16), were used, especially by athletes, for holding oil, and always had a narrow neck to enable it to pour out slowly. The last shape that need be mentioned here is the *pyxis* or toilet-box (17), usually of cylindrical form, and used by ladies to hold unguents or objects for the toilet.

The clay for the painted vases was largely obtained from Cape Kolias in Attica, and from the neighbourhood of Corinth, and the prevalent reddish hue of the Attic vases was produced by an admixture of red ochre. At Athens there was a regular potters' quarter, known as the Ceramicus, which adjoined the chief burial-ground, and was therefore convenient for the making of vases for funeral purposes.

The earliest Greek vases are hand-made, but the potter's wheel was known in Egypt at a very remote period, and even in Greece was credited with a legendary origin. Homer introduces it in one of his similes. Hence we can trace the introduction of wheel-made vases even in the Mycenaean period, and thereafter the only ones made by hand were jars of abnormal size.

When the clay had received the required form the surface was carefully smoothed, and the vase placed in the air to dry; the handles were then separately attached. The next process was the baking, a very critical one, owing to the necessity of accurately adjusting the amount of heat required. Some vases may be seen to have been subjected to too much or too little heat, and to have become discoloured. Others again have been cracked in the baking, or dented in by the pressure of other vases while still soft. The ovens seem to have differed little from those in use at the present day.

The vase having successfully passed through the baking, the next process was the decoration, which, as we shall see, varied at different periods. It may, however, be briefly noted here that in the Attic vases, which form a vast proportion of those in existence, the usual method was to produce on the surface of the vase a highly lustrous red or orange glaze. In the earlier or black-figured vases the figures and ornaments were painted on this with a lustrous black pigment or

varnish, producing silhouettes, in which the details were brought out by means of engraved lines or the application of white and purple pigments. Another method was to cover the whole of the vase with the black varnish except a square panel (or two where both sides were decorated), which was left in red to receive the figures. This was virtually the method adopted in the succeeding periods (from about 520 B.C. onwards), when the reverse system of red figures on a black ground became fashionable; with this difference, that the vase now became entirely black, except for the figures which were left in the colour of the clay. After a second firing to fix the colours, the vase was regarded as complete.

In the primitive stages of vase-painting the process of decoration was, of course, simpler. The clay is usually of a pale drab colour, and the glaze is often of an inferior nature; the figures are usually painted in black, which lacks the brilliant lustre of the Attic wares. In certain fabrics purple and white are largely employed, as are also the engraved lines from the seventh century onwards. The only important variation from the two recognised Attic methods is in the fifth century vases, also made at Athens, with outline or polychrome decoration on a white ground. In these the figures are drawn in outline with a fine brush of red or black colour, and washes of other colours, red, yellow, or purple are employed to fill in the larger details.

The various stages in the manufacture of painted pottery are sometimes depicted on the vases themselves, from which valuable information may be gleaned about the different processes. We see the potter seated before his wheel, shaping the clay (Fig. 15), or polishing the surface; or representations of the flaming kiln, with the vases piled up in the interior; or again, an artist painting the surface of a vase with brush or pen (Fig. 16). Many of these scenes occur on the Corinthian painted tablets described in the last chapter, reminding us that Corinth in the seventh and sixth centuries was a great centre of ceramic industry; there are also among them paintings in which the digging out of the clay is represented, and others in which the completed vases are being conveyed over the sea in ships for exportation to other countries. One or two vases reproduce the interior of a potter's workshop with much vivid detail.[1]

It may be found convenient, before discussing the historical and artistic development of Greek vase-painting, to summarise briefly the main classes into which vases may be divided.

[1] See Figs. 15, 16, and generally Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. p. 207 ff.



Fig. 15. Interior of Pottery. (From a Vase at Munich.)



Fig. 16. Scene in a Vase-Painter's Studio. (From a Vase found at Ruvo.)



GEOMETRICAL VASE OF "DIPVLON" STYLE
(ATHENS MUSEUM)





IONIC VASE-PAINTINGS:

1. PLATE FROM RHODES: COMBAT OF MENELAOS AND HECTOR
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

2. CYRENAIC CUP: ARKESILAOS OF CYRENE AND SILPHIUM-TRADERS
(BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS)

CLASSIFICATION OF PERIODS

I. *Vases of the Primitive Period*, from about 2000 B.C. to 600 B.C.; decoration in brown or black (usually dull, not lustrous), on a ground varying from white to pale red, often unglazed; ornaments chiefly linear, floral, or figures of animals; human figures and mythological scenes very rare.

II. *Black-figured Vases*, from about 600 B.C. to 500 B.C.; figures painted in lustrous black on glazed ground varying from cream-colour to bright orange-red, with engraved lines and white and purple for details; subjects mainly from mythology and legend.

III. *Red-figured Vases*, from 520 to 400 B.C.; figures drawn in outline on red clay and the background wholly filled in with black varnish; inner details indicated by painted lines or dashes of purple and white; scenes from daily life or mythology. With these are included vases with polychrome figures on white ground. In these, which are exclusively made at Athens, the perfection of vase-painting is reached, between 480 and 450 B.C.

IV. *Vases of the Decadence*, from 400 to 200 B.C.; mostly from Southern Italy; technique as in class III., but drawing free and careless, and general effect gaudy; subjects funereal, theatrical, and fanciful. At the end of this period painted vases are largely replaced by plain glazed vases modelled in various forms or with decoration in relief, all these being imitations of the metal vases which now began to take the place of painted ware in the estimation of the Hellenistic world.

In a previous chapter some allusion has already been made to the earliest painted pottery found on Greek soil, and we have seen how the highly-developed Mycenaean wares were replaced by pottery of a vastly inferior and more rudimentary type, as a result of a general artistic reaction. This pottery, which is found all over the mainland and islands of Greece, covers a period of some three hundred years, during which a certain development is visible towards a more advanced stage. Its main characteristic is its geometrical decoration, consisting of chevrons, triangles, maeander, circles, and such-like patterns, painted in a dull black on brownish ground. In most places it never advanced beyond this, but in Boeotia and still more at Athens we can trace the gradual growth of decorative power, first by the introduction of animals, and then by the appearance of the human figure. In the Athenian cemetery outside the Dipylon gate a series of colossal vases has come to light, placed originally as monuments on the tombs, on

which are painted such subjects as sea-fights and funeral processions.[1] The geometrical patterns on these have already assumed a subsidiary place. The drawing of the human figures is rude in the extreme, and they are painted entirely in silhouette, without any attempt at detail; yet there is a distinct striving after artistic effect, especially in the composition and arrangement. In Boeotia this stage was never reached, and a kind of decadence early set in, the patterns and figures of animals being painted with great carelessness, as contrasted with the painstaking helplessness of the Athenian artists.

The close of the 'geometrical' period brings us to the point when Greek art in general was beginning to assume a definite and individual character. In the seventh century two main influences were at work, developing the art of the race along two distinct though not widely different lines, which manifested themselves respectively on the Eastern and Western sides of the Aegean Sea. On the one hand, we have the Ionian races, the heirs of Mycenaean culture and the principal translators of Oriental art into a Greek setting; on the other, the Athenians, still backward, yet even at this time showing promise of coming greatness, and Corinth, the great commercial centre of the period, and the main producer and exporter of painted vases.

In Ionia, including the islands of the Aegean, such as Rhodes and Samos, and the colonies which owed their origin to Asia Minor, such as Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta, the art of vase-painting from the first carried on the Mycenaean tradition, and was distinguished by its naturalism and originality, and by the bold and diverse effects produced by variety of colour or novelty of subject. In its earlier phases, represented by the pottery found in Rhodes, Samos, and Naukratis, the ornamentation is more or less elementary, consisting of friezes of animals, especially lions, deer, and goats. These figures stand out sharply in black against the creamy-white ground, which is a notable characteristic of nearly all Ionic pottery, and details are brought out by means of engraved lines, patches of purple pigment, or by drawing parts of the figure, especially the head, in outline on the clay ground. Another characteristic is the general use of small ornaments, such as rosettes and crosses, in great variety of form, to cover the background of the designs, and obviate the necessity of leaving vacant spaces, so abhorrent to the early Greek mind. It is probable that this system of decoration owes much to Assyrian textile fabrics.

The best example of early Ionic pottery is a remarkable plate or

[1] See Plate LXIX. for an example.







CORINTHIAN VASES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



THE FRANCOIS-VASE
(FLORENCE)

pinax from Rhodes in the British Museum, on which is represented the combat of Menelaos and Hector over the body of Euphorbos;[1] the names are inscribed over the figures, and this is the earliest known instance of a mythological subject on a painted vase. It is a reminiscence rather than an illustration of Homer,[2] a noticeable feature in early vases, which seldom follow literary sources at all closely. The date of this painting is not later than 600 B.C.

During the sixth century painting made rapid strides among the Ionian peoples, as we have already seen in Chapter VIII., in speaking of the Clazomenae sarcophagi. These are in many respects closely paralleled by the vases. In course of time the old method of painting on a white ground was given up in favour of the red glaze which is characteristic throughout of Attic vases, and finally by the end of the century the assimilation with the latter wares became complete. The disappearance of the Ionian schools of art was mainly due to the Persian conquests towards the end of the sixth century, which drove their representatives to Athens and Italy.

One class of these later Ionic vases deserves special mention for its original character and the interest of its subjects. This is a series of cups painted in black and purple on a cream-coloured ground, the designs being in the interior. They date from the early part of the sixth century, and although none have been found there, evidence points to their being made at Cyrene in North Africa. The most remarkable is a cup in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, representing Arkesilaos, King of Cyrene from 580 to 550 B.C., weighing out bales of the silphium plant (asafoetida) for exportation in a ship.[3] This plant was a product of the country, and a great source of its revenue, and is represented on many of the coins. Other subjects are Zeus and his eagle, Atlas and Prometheus, Kadmos slaying the dragon, and Pelops with the horses given him by Poseidon. Space forbids to describe the more typically Ionian fabrics of this period, those which were actually made in Asia Minor or the adjoining islands, but all display the same characteristics of originality of subject, vivid detail, and brightness of aspect.[4]

We turn now to Western Greece, where we find Corinth almost monopolising the industry of pottery for some 150 years. The vases

[1] Plate LXX.

[2] In the *Iliad* Menelaos kills Euphorbos, but it is over the body of Patroklos that he fights with Hector.

[3] Plate LXX.

[4] See generally Walters, *Ancient Pottery*, i. Chap. viii.

of Corinth, of which large numbers have been found in the locality, often bearing inscriptions in the peculiar Corinthian alphabet, show a continuous progress from the simplest ornaments to fully developed black-figure vases hardly to be distinguished from Attic wares. In the earliest specimens, as in those of Ionia, Oriental influence is very strong, the surface being so crowded with rosettes and other subsidiary ornaments that the main design is hardly visible and the background almost disappears. The general effect is that of a rich Oriental embroidery; and the subjects are largely chosen from the fantastic and monstrous creations of Assyrian art, such as the Sphinx and Gryphon. The vases are mostly small, and decorated with one or two figures of animals or monsters; the ground varies from cream to yellow, and the figures are black with a lavish use of purple for details.[1]

But before the growing sense that human action is the most appropriate subject for the vase-painter, Orientalism begins to give way; the ground-ornaments diminish and disappear, the friezes of animals are restricted to the borders of the designs; and human figures are introduced, first singly, then in friezes or groups, and finally engaged in some definite action, such as combats or hunting-scenes. In the last stage Greek myths and legends are freely employed. A new development, which was traditionally associated with Eumaros of Athens (p. 144), was the distinguishing of female figures by the use of white for flesh tints.

Meanwhile a somewhat similar development, though represented by comparatively few vases, was going on at Athens, where the adoption of Corinthian and Ionian technical improvements evolved by the middle of the sixth century the fully-developed black-figure style, which by degrees supplanted or assimilated all the other schools. The impetus to this advance was no doubt due to the beneficent rule of the tyrant Peisistratos and his successors (565-510 B.C.), which did so much for culture and art at Athens.

At the head of the new development stands the famous François vase in the Museum at Florence, which was found by M. François at Chiusi in 1844.[2] Its shape is that of a *krater* or mixing-bowl (Fig. 14), and it bears the signatures of its maker and decorator in the form 'Ergotimos made me, Klitias painted me,' the first of a long series of signed Athenian vases, though in Boeotia and at Corinth signatures had already been known from several instances. It might be described as a Greek mythology in miniature, with its numerous friezes and panels

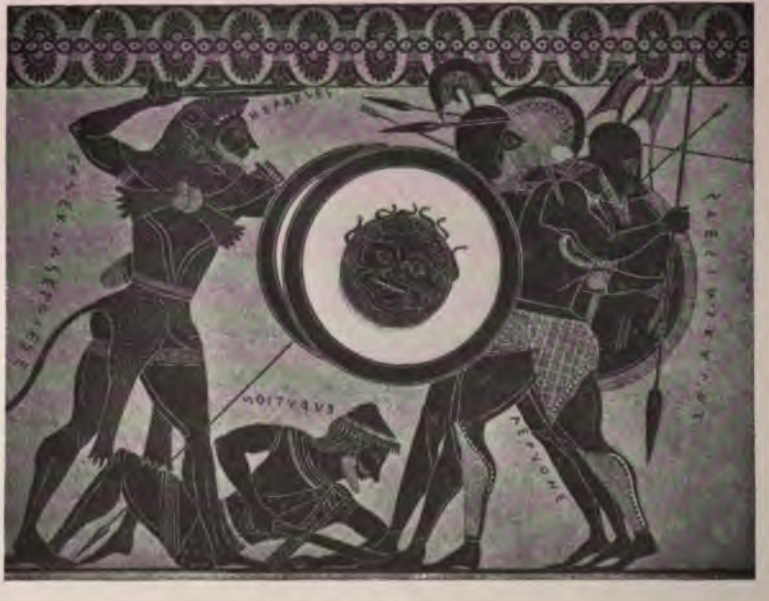
[1] Specimens are given on Plate LXXI.

[2] See Plate LXXII.



PANATHENAIC AMPHORA OF THE FOURTH CENTURY
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





1. AMPHORA BY NIKOSTHENES
2. VASE-PAINTING BY EXEKIAS; COMBAT OF HERAKLES AND GERYON
(LOUVRE)

of figures, comprising such subjects as the return of Hephaistos to Olympos, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, the landing of Theseus at Naxos with Ariadne, the hunt of the Calydonian boar, and a combat of Greeks and Centaurs. All the figures have their names inscribed. As a sort of pendant to this vase we may regard an amphora in the British Museum, a much smaller vase with only two subjects, but similar in style. The main theme is the Birth of Athena, treated in a very conventional manner (cf. p. 100).

The general technique of the black-figured vases has already been described: the black figures in silhouette on the red glazed clay, the engraved lines for the outer contours and inner details, and the whites and purples used for the drapery, the hair of old men, the flesh of women, and other features. Generally speaking, purple is used more freely on the older vases, white on the later; towards the end of the century, when the new red-figure fashion was gaining ground, they were almost entirely dropped.

The drawing is, as might be expected, somewhat stiff and conventional, though a great advance in the direction of freedom was attempted before the style went out. One of its chief features is the tendency to give tapering extremities to human figures, which at times is absurdly exaggerated. Many vases, otherwise carefully and delicately executed, are marred by an excess of mannerism and affectation, as in the works of the artists Amasis and Exekias. The treatment of drapery is a good indication of date, ranging from flat masses of colour to oblique flowing lines or angular falling folds.

The shapes most commonly employed by the Athenian potters of this period are the amphora, hydria, kylix, oinochoe, and lekythos (see Fig. 14), the first-named being the most popular. A special class of amphorae is formed by the Panathenaic vases given as prizes in the Athenian games, which were adorned with a figure of the patron goddess Athena on one side and a representation of the contest in which they were won on the other.[1] Some of these can be dated by the names of archons which they bear, as late as the fourth century, the old method of painting in black figures, and the stiff conventional type of the goddess, being preserved for religious reasons.

The chief interest of black-figured vases is really derived from their subjects, which range over every conceivable field; the proportion of myth and legend to scenes from daily life is much greater than in the succeeding period. They include groups of Olympian and other

[1] See Plate LXXIII.

deities, and the various scenes in which they take part, such as the battle of the gods and giants; Dionysos and his attendant Satyrs, Maenads, etc.; the labours and exploits of Herakles and other heroes; subjects taken from the tale of Troy and other less familiar legends; and scenes from daily life, battle-scenes, athletics, the chase, and so on. The same classification of course holds good for the later periods of vase-painting with some exceptions. The proportion of *genre* scenes becomes greater, and some myths disappear, others rise into prominence; new deities, such as Eros (Love) and Nike (Victory), appear for the first time; and generally speaking, the subjects are characterised by a sentimentality or tendency to emotion which is completely lacking in the conventional stereotyped compositions of the sixth century artist.

Among the favourite subjects are the Birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (cf. p. 100); the encounters of Herakles with the Nemean lion, with the triple-bodied Geryon,[1] or with the Amazons, and the conveying of the hero by Athena in her chariot to Olympos. In the next period we shall see that Theseus takes the place now occupied by Herakles, but at present the only scene from his labours is the slaying of the Minotaur. Among other heroes, Perseus beheads the Gorgon, and Peleus struggles to hold Thetis; and of Trojan scenes, the commonest are Greek warriors playing at draughts, and the ambuscade of Achilles for Troilos and Polyxena.

A remarkable feature of all such scenes is that a stereotyped form of composition is invariably adopted, at least for the principal figures; but minor variations are generally to be found, as, for instance, in the number of bystanders, and it is almost an impossibility to find any two vase-paintings which are exact duplicates. The form of the composition was partly determined by the field available for the design; when this took the form of a long frieze, the space was filled up with a series of spectators or the repetition of typical groups; but when the design is on a framed panel, or confined by ornamental borders, the method of treatment is adapted from that of a sculptured metope, and the figures limited to two or three. In many cases it is difficult to decide, in the absence of inscriptions, whether a scene has a mythological signification or not; the mythological types are over and over again adopted for scenes of ordinary life, even to the divine attributes or poses of certain figures.

Among the artists of the period who have left their names on the

[1] See Plate LXXIV., lower fig. (vase by Exekias).

vases, besides those already mentioned, the most conspicuous is Nikosthenes, a painter of some originality, from whose hand we have over seventy examples, a few being in the red-figure method.[1] He is supposed to have introduced at Athens a revival of the Ionic fashion of painting on a cream-coloured ground instead of red, of which some very effective examples have been preserved. Many of the signed vases are cups, bearing nothing more than the artist's name and some appropriate motto, such as 'Welcome, and drink deep.'

The sudden reversal of technical method involved in the change from black figures on red ground to red figures on black is not at first sight easy of explanation. We have examples of artists like Nikosthenes, who used both methods, sometimes on the same vase, and there is no doubt that the two went on for some years concurrently. As, however, no intermediate stage is possible, there is no question of development or gradual transition. The new style was, in fact, a bold and ingenious invention. It is possible that it was suggested by a small class of vases in which the figures are painted in the black-figure *method*, but have the converse appearance, that is to say, that the ground is black, and the figures are painted on in a thick red pigment. It may well have occurred to the artist that he could obtain the same effect merely by leaving the figures unpainted while covering the rest of the vase with the black varnish.

The change must, however, be closely associated with the career of an artist named Andokides, who not only produced vases in both methods, but also several in which the two are combined. In two or three cases the subject is actually the same on each side, almost every detail being repeated, except that the colouring is, to use a heraldic term, 'counter-changed.'

As regards the date at which the change took place, it was formerly placed well on in the fifth century, on account of the great advance in drawing which most of the red-figured vases exhibit, as compared with the black. They were thus regarded as contemporary with Polygnotos (see p. 149), if not with Pheidias. But since the excavations on the Acropolis of Athens have yielded numerous fragments belonging quite to the height of the red-figure period, which must be earlier than 480 B.C., it has become necessary to find an earlier date for its commencement. This is now usually placed at about 520 B.C., in the age of the Peisistratids.

[1] Plate LXXIV. (upper fig.) gives one of his typical black-figured amphorae.

It may be well here to restate briefly the method used in the production of these vases, as follows:—The artist sketched his design on the red clay with a fine-pointed tool; he then surrounded the figures with a layer of black varnish about an eighth of an inch wide, by means of a brush, or, as recent researches have rendered probable, with a feather pen; this prevented the varnish subsequently laid on over the surface of the whole vase from running over the design. Finally, inner details, such as features or folds of drapery, were added with a brush or pen as before, in fine black lines; and further details were expressed by a wash of black thinned out to brown, or by the application of purple (and later of white) pigments.

The red-figure period is usually subdivided into four, showing the chief stages of development, and known as the severe, strong, fine, and late fine periods. It will be convenient to consider each of these separately, noting in each case the chief exponents of the art.

In the *severe* period, it is important to notice that there is no marked advance on the black-figured vases as regards style. The figures are still more or less conventional and stiff, and some of the vases even show signs of the same decadence as the latest black-figured. The real development is partly in a technical direction, partly in the introduction of new subjects. Although it was probably in the amphorae, as in those painted by Andokides, that the change of style had its origin, the new developments are best seen in the kylix, a form of vase which now sprang into popularity, and called forth the chief efforts of the principal artists. Its curved surface gave ample scope for skilful effects of drawing and decorative arrangement, and its perfecting as a work of decorative art was the great glory of the earlier red-figure painters. For other shapes, such as the hydria and the lekythos, the old method seems for a time to have been preferred.

The most typical artist of the period was Epiktetos, and other famous cup-painters were Pamphaios, Kachrylion, and Phintias. The earliest cups differ little in general decorative arrangement from the later black-figured, the main portion of the exterior designs being filled with a pair of large eyes, the meaning of which is quite unknown, but they are first found on the later Ionic vases, especially on the cups. The figure decoration was thus limited to a confined space in the middle of each side, in which was painted a single figure of a warrior or athlete; under the handles was placed a palmette or some simple device. The artist's chief attention was in fact devoted to the interior, though even here his first attempts were limited. But although he



VASE-PAINTING BY EUPHRONIOS: HERAKLES AND GERYON
(MUNICH MUSEUM)





1. VASE-PAINTING BY DURIS: SCENE IN A SCHOOL
(BERLIN MUSEUM)
2. VASE-PAINTING BY HIERON: ELEUSINIAN AND OTHER DEITIES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

had not as yet realised the possibility of an elaborate composition, he did learn that the circular space gave ample scope for his newly-acquired drawing abilities, and so we have a series of single figures of young men, girls, or Satyrs, in all kinds of attitudes—kneeling, running, stooping, carrying vases, or seated on couches—all the figures being conceived with the object of filling the space as far as possible. This was a thoroughly Greek characteristic, well exemplified on the gems and coins.

By degrees more attention was paid to the exterior designs; the eyes were dropped, and the figures replaced by groups, though still of a simple kind; and it is not until the end of the period that regular compositions, arranged as friezes and telling some story, are introduced. Epiktetos was throughout his career a thoroughly 'archaic' artist, but considerable advance was made by Kachrylion, who stands on the verge of the succeeding stage.

The *strong* period centres round the name of Euphronios, with whom we must associate a really great artistic movement. He never tires of inventing new subjects or new poses, or of attempting to conquer technical and artistic difficulties, and he may be held to represent the stage of development in painting traditionally associated with Kimon of Kleonae (p. 147), who 'contrived various expressions, indicated folds of drapery, and invented foreshortening, representing figures looking up, down, and backwards.' It is needless to say that this marks a very great advance on the old limitations of figures in profile, to which the black-figure silhouettes were confined. Hitherto no advance has been made beyond the conventionality of Egyptian art, in which, though the body may be to the front, the face is always in profile. But from the time of Euphronios (500-460 B.C.) onwards we observe the rapid perfecting of linear drawing to a stage of perfect freedom.

His style is characterised both by grandeur and beauty, combined with elegance and ease in composition, and a careful attention to the smallest details. Ten vases with his signature are known, but as in some cases he only signs his name as potter with the word ἐποίησε, 'made,' we cannot be absolutely certain that he painted (ἔγραψε) them all himself.[1] All but two (a krater in the Louvre and a *psykter* or wine-cooler at St. Petersburg) are cups, and most of them are painted

[1] Where an artist signs ἐποίησε, it is generally assumed that he both made and painted the vase. But we know that in one case Euphronios made a vase which another artist painted. Hence the uncertainty in his case.

with mythological subjects, such as the contest of Herakles with Geryon (Munich),[1] his bringing the boar to Eurystheus (British Museum), or the pursuit and death of Troilos (Perugia). One fragmentary cup in Berlin is painted in polychrome on a white ground (see next page). The Troilos vase is an instance of a new development of the 'strong' period, combining the various stages of a story on the exterior and interior designs of a cup. A fine example of an interior composition is on a cup in the Louvre, representing Theseus' descent into the sea; the draperies are especially beautiful.

Of his contemporaries, Duris, Hieron, and Brygos take front rank, each with his own marked individuality. Duris shows a preference for quiet grace rather than violent action, and for slim nude figures.[2] Hieron's tendency is to sentimental figures and idealised scenes of daily life; Brygos exhibits a fondness for realism and copiousness of detail, and really stands on the threshold of the next stage in his approach to complete freedom of drawing. All three are, like Euphronios, essentially kylix-painters, though they use other forms at times, and the exquisite shapes of their vases and the manner in which the compositions are adapted to the curved surfaces have never been surpassed. In particular we may mention a cup by Hieron in the British Museum (a kotyle or beaker, not a kylix) with a group of the Eleusinian deities, a composition of great beauty and richness.[3]

In the *fine* style (460-440 B.C.) breadth of effect and dignity are aimed at, and although the cups reached their zenith under the great masters of the last stage, yet for the red-figured vases on the whole, this may be regarded as exhibiting the perfection of technique and drawing, free from archaism, yet without any signs of degeneration. In many of the larger vases the scenes are of a pictorial character, with landscape accessories and groups of figures ranged at different levels; and we may perhaps see in these a reflection of the influence of the painter Polygnotos, now at the height of his activity (see above, p. 151). The signed vases in this period are few in number, and include hardly any cups; but there is one by Erginos and Aristophanes, with a vivid series of scenes from the battle of the gods and giants. To the end of this period belongs the beautiful hydria in the British Museum by the painter Meidias, which is justly celebrated for its

[1] See Plate LXXV.

[2] Plate LXXVI. (upper fig.) gives an example of his work—a scene in a school.

[3] See *ibid.*, lower fig.



VASE BY MEIDIAS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





VASES WITH PAINTING ON WHITE GROUND
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

richness of decoration and delicacy of execution.[1] There is in this period a decided reaction in favour of mythological subjects.

In the *late fine* style, which begins about 440 B.C., the pictorial effect is preserved, but the vases rapidly deteriorate in merit; the love of over-refinement and the newly-perfected skill in drawing impel the artist to produce hurried, careless compositions, crowded with groups of figures which have no merit or interest. The fashion also arose of enhancing the designs by means of accessory colours, such as white, laid on in masses, blue and green, and even gilding. Athletic and mythological subjects are thrust into the background, and the life of women and children comes more to the front, especially on the smaller vases, some of which seem to have been used as playthings.

In this period we first find examples of red-figured vases made outside Athens, in the colonies of the Crimea and North Africa (Cyrenaica); some of the former are imposing specimens, with elaborate mythological compositions, and a tendency to gaudy colouring and general showiness. Figures are even modelled separately in relief and attached to the vase, as in the case of one signed by Xenophantos representing the Persian King hunting, and the vase with Athena and Poseidon mentioned in another connection (p. 102).

Contemporary with the red-figure method is one in which the figures are painted on a white slip or *engobe* resembling pipe-clay, with which the whole surface was covered; the figures are drawn in outline in red or black, and partly filled in with washes of colour, chiefly red, purple, or brown, but sometimes also blue or green. This style seems to have become popular about the middle of the fifth century, and was employed for the funeral lekythi, which came into fashion at Athens about that time. These vases, which form a class by themselves, were made specially for funeral ceremonies (see p. 163), and were painted with subjects relating to the tomb, such as the laying-out of the corpse on the bier, the ferrying of the dead over the Styx by Charon, or (most frequently) mourners bringing offerings to the tomb.[2] They continued to be made well on into the fourth century, but the later examples are very degenerate and careless.

In other forms, especially the kylix and the pyxis (toilet-box) some exceedingly beautiful specimens have come down to us, which show a delicacy of drawing and firmness of touch never surpassed; and this is the more remarkable if, as is probable, the lines were drawn with a brush. Bearing in mind that Polygnotos and his contempor-

[1] Plate LXXVII.

[2] See Plate LXXVIII.

aries painted with a limited number of colours on a white ground (p. 141), we may fairly see in these vases also a reflection of the art of the great painters. Among them no finer specimen exists than the exquisite cup in the British Museum with the interior design of Aphrodite riding on a goose;[1] the design is entirely in brown outline, exhibiting to the full the qualities of drawing of which we have just spoken; and the picture, if slightly tinged with archaism, is yet full of grace and refinement.

Turning to a general consideration of the subjects on the red-figured vases, we do not find quite the same variety of choice as on the black-figured, but infinitely more freedom in composition and treatment. The stereotyped form of composition is almost entirely discarded, and each painter was free to form his own idea of the best treatment of a subject. On a very beautiful class of amphorae, known as 'Nolan,' from the place where they were mostly found, it became the fashion to paint one, or at most two, figures on each side, often on a large scale; these vases, it may be remarked in passing, are famous for the marvellous lustre of their black glaze.

Towards the middle of the fifth century the patriotism of the Athenian artist finds expression in the growing importance which he attaches to local legends, especially those of Theseus, the typical Attic hero. This may have been partly due to the recovery and solemn interment of the hero's bones in the temple dedicated to him, which took place under Kimon in 469 B.C. It is probable that Theseus was regarded as the typical athlete or Attic *ephebos*, and his contests as analogous to scenes in the gymnasium. Hence the grouping on some vases of scenes from his labours like so many groups of athletes; and hence too the general tendency of the red-figured vases, especially the cups, to become a sort of glorification of the Attic *ephebos*, the representations of whom, running, leaping, boxing, enjoying himself at the banquet, or in other forms of revelry, are out of all proportion to other subjects.

We find evidence of this too in another form. Many vases, especially the cups of the severe and strong periods, bear names of persons inscribed on the designs with the word *kalos*, 'fair' or 'noble,' attached; sometimes merely 'the boy is fair.' The exact meaning of this practice has been much discussed, but evidence seems to show that the persons celebrated must have been quite young at the time, and were therefore youths famous for their beauty or

[1] Plate LXXVIII.

athletic prowess. Some of the names which occur are those of characters celebrated in history, such as Hipparchos, Miltiades, and Alcibiades; and though they cannot always be identified with the historical personages, enough evidence has been obtained in this way to be of great value for the chronology of the vases. Further, the practice of the vase-painters of adopting each his own particular favourite name or set of names has enabled scholars to identify many unsigned vases with particular schools, and thus greatly to increase our knowledge of the characteristics of individual artists.

For all practical purposes the red-figure style at Athens came to an end with the fall of the city in 404 B.C. Not that painted vases then ceased to be made entirely—the funeral lekythi and the prize-vases form the chief examples of survivals—but that at this time the decadence set in with terrible rapidity, and such as were produced were quite without merit. The whole tendency of the fourth century in Greece was one of decentralisation; and the art of vase-painting was no exception, for we find that there must have been a general migration of craftsmen from Athens, not only to the Crimea and North Africa, but to Southern Italy, which now becomes the chief centre of vase-production. Here there were many rich and flourishing Greek colonies or Graecised towns ready to welcome the new art as an addition to their many luxuries, such as Tarentum, Paestum, and Capua. In the character of the vases of this period we see their tendencies reflected, especially in their splendour and showy aspect, the only aim being size and gaudy colouring.

The general method of painting remains that of the Athenian red-figure vases, but without any idea of simplicity and refinement, as is seen in the ornamentation, in the choice of colours, and in the drawing of the figures. Large masses of white are invariably employed, especially for the flesh of women or of Eros, the universally present god of Love, and for architectural details. Yellow is introduced for details of features or hair, and for attempts at shading; nor is purple uncommon. The reverse of the vases, when painted, is devoid of all accessory colouring, and the figures (usually two or three young men conversing together) drawn with the greatest carelessness, as if not intended to be seen. There is throughout a lavish use of ornamental patterns, such as palmettes, wreaths of leaves, or ornaments strewn over the field (a reversion to an old practice).

The drawing having now become entirely free, errs in the opposite extreme; the forms are soft, and the male figures often effeminate.

A love of the far-fetched betrays itself in variety of posture and elaborate foreshortening, and the fanciful and richly-embroidered draperies of the figures, as well as the frequent architectural settings, seem to indicate that theatrical representations exercised much influence on the vases. It is also probable that the great painters of the fifth and fourth centuries, such as Zeuxis, provided sources of inspiration for their humble fellow-craftsmen; but rather perhaps in the subjects chosen than in regard to style, although the effect of many scenes on the larger vases is decidedly pictorial.

The influence of the stage, already hinted at, is manifested in two directions, one the result of tragedy, the other of comedy. The former may be seen in the numerous subjects drawn directly from the plays of Euripides, such as the *Medeia*, the *Hecuba*, or the *Hercules Furens*, as well as in the arrangement of the mythological scenes on the larger vases, and the elaborate costumes of the figures. In some cases the action is clearly conceived as it would have been seen on a stage, with an architectural background. The influence of comedy is of another kind, the source of these subjects being a kind of farce, often burlesquing myths, which was popular in Southern Italy about the fourth century. Scenes are represented as actually taking place on a stage, and the costumes are closely related to those of the old comedy of Aristophanes; some subjects are parodies of myths, others are taken from daily life, such as a father dragging a drunken youth home from a banquet.

Scenes from daily life form a large proportion of the subjects on these vases, but many of them are of a purely fanciful and meaningless character, the commonest type being that of a young man and a woman exchanging presents of toilet-boxes, fruit, or other objects. They are more akin to the designs on Dresden china or the Watteau figures of the eighteenth century.

Many vases of this period, especially those of large size, were obviously designed expressly for funeral purposes. Some of these bear representations of the Under-World, with numerous groups of figures such as Pluto and Persephone, Herakles and Cerberus, Orpheus and Eurydike, or Furies administering punishments. On others we have representations of shrines or tombs, sometimes with effigies of the deceased in them, at which the relatives make offerings and libations, as on the Athenian lekythi.[1] The worship of the dead, as here indicated, seems to have been universal among the Greeks.

[1] See Plate LXXIX.





VASES OF SOUTHERN ITALY:

1. APULIAN AMPHORA

(BERLIN MUSEUM)

2. VASE-PAINTING BY ASSTEAS: THE MAD HERAKLES

(MADRID MUSEUM)



VASES OF SOUTHERN ITALY

The vases of this period are usually grouped in three or four different fabrics, corresponding to the ancient districts of Lucania, Campania, and Apulia, each with its special features of technique, drawing, and repertory of subjects. In Lucania we find a restrained and bold style of drawing, more akin than the other fabrics to that of the preceding period; in Campania, a fondness for polychromy combined with careless execution; in Apulia a tendency to magnificence, as shown in the great funeral and theatrical vases already mentioned, followed by a period of decadence in which were made small vases of fantastic form with purely decorative subjects. Besides these, we have a school of Paestum, represented by two artists who have left their names on their vases, Assteas and Python. They are essentially pictorial artists, trained in Attic traditions, with a love of elaborate detail and picturesque grouping of figures, and a strong preference for mythological subjects. A well-known example of Assteas' style is a vase in Madrid[2] representing Herakles destroying his children, a subject recalling the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides, and there is a fine specimen of Python's work in the British Museum, with Alkmena, the mother of Herakles, placed on the funeral pile by her husband Amphitryon, and the rain-nymphs quenching the flames.

About the end of the third century the manufacture of painted vases would seem to have been rapidly dying out in Italy, as had long been the case elsewhere, and their place is taken by unpainted vases modelled in the form of animals and human figures, or ornamented with stamped and moulded reliefs, which in their turn give way to the plainer Arretine or so-called Samian wares of the Roman period. In all these fabrics we see a tendency to the imitation of metal vases, which with the growth of luxury in the Hellenistic Age, entirely replaced painted pottery both for use and ornament; and the pottery of the period is reduced to a subordinate and utilitarian position, merely supplying the place of the more costly wares in the humbler spheres of life.

[1] Plate LXXIX.

CHAPTER X

GREEK TERRA-COTTAS

Terra-cotta in Architecture—Origin of sculpture in clay—Primitive and archaic types—Technical processes—Uses—Tanagra statuettes—Types and subjects—Differences of styles and fabrics—Forgeries.

THE use of clay among the Greeks was very widely prevalent, almost more so than their use of bronze, if we take into consideration the enormous quantities of objects made in this material, from the magnificently-decorated funeral vases down to the humble jar of earthenware, which fall under the separate heading of Pottery.

In the present chapter we have to deal mainly with one branch of the subject, that of artistic work in baked clay or terra-cotta, whether the purposes for which the work was devised were partly utilitarian or purely ornamental. Under the former category are included the uses of terra-cotta for architectural purposes or for sepulchral monuments; the latter embraces the whole series of terra-cotta statuettes which now-a-days form such a charming adjunct to our museums of antiquities.

The use of baked clay in architecture by the Greeks forms a very important branch of the subject, as has already been implied in a previous chapter. In early times, especially in the Levant, buildings were made of unburnt or sun-dried clay bricks, in which an admixture of straw was required for cohesion. This fact helps us to understand the story of the Israelites in Egypt, when they were reduced to difficulties in the absence of straw for their brick-making; it is further illustrated by what the traveller in the East may see in almost any village of Palestine or Cyprus, whole series of houses being composed entirely of this material. Speaking of the 'invention' of this process in Greece, Pliny supposes that the idea was taken from swallows building their nests. It was at all events in early use in Greece, and remains of walls of unburnt brick have been found on many sites,





TERRACOTTA ANTEFIXAL ORNAMENTS FROM ITALY
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



TERRACOTTA TOYS AND DOLLS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

notably in the Heraion at Olympia, a building of great antiquity, where the brick walls were laid on a lower course of stone, and the roof was entirely of terra-cotta. Burnt brick, however, though generally used at Rome for many centuries, was seldom employed in Greece, doubtless owing to the abundance of marble and good building stone. Where brick buildings are mentioned by ancient authors, they are either of Oriental origin, like the walls of Babylon and the palace of Croesus at Sardis, or of late date under Roman influences.

Terra-cotta ornamentation for buildings was at first in very general use in Greece, down to the end of the sixth century B.C. Its scope, however, gradually became more restricted, except in Sicily and Italy, and in the more important buildings its place was entirely taken by marble for tiles and architectural ornaments. The details for which terra-cotta was generally used include the two kinds of roof-tiles—flat and covering tiles—the cornices, the rows of spouts along the sides for carrying off water, the covering-slabs along the edges of the pediments, and the antefixes or ornamental terminations of the covering-tiles along the sides of the building. Among the last-named we find many choice examples of decoration in relief at all periods. In the sixth and fifth centuries the use of bright colours, such as red and blue, to decorate the terra-cotta ornaments was universal, and countless painted specimens have been found at Olympia and elsewhere.

In Sicily and Italy a practice obtained of nailing slabs of terra-cotta over the surface of the stone-work, originating, no doubt, in the period when buildings were of wood, and the terra-cotta covering was necessary for protection. These slabs were either painted or decorated with patterns in relief, and a good illustration of the method is afforded by the remains of a temple recently excavated at Civita Lavinia, the ancient Lanuvium, by the late Lord Savile. They are now in the British Museum, where a conjectural restoration of part of the building has been effected. These remains date partly from the sixth, partly from the fourth or third century B.C.

The antefixes or terminating roof-tiles, which played a large part in the decoration of temples, were decorated with all kinds of subjects in relief, especially in the archaic period. Comparatively few from Greek sites are in existence, but we know that the sculptor Paionios (see p. 108) attained distinction by the figures of Victory which he made to adorn the roof of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and Pausanias speaks of some early examples which he saw in Athens representing Theseus dashing Skiron into the sea, and Eos (Dawn) carrying off

Kephalos ('the Attic boy'). Two similar groups were found in Delos some thirty years ago, on the site of a temple dating from 425 B.C., representing Boreas carrying off Oreithyia and Eos with Kephalos. Most of the specimens that we now possess are from Italy, yet thoroughly Greek in style.[1]

Terra-cotta was largely used in connection with the tomb, especially for coffins or sarcophagi, of which many magnificently painted examples of a very early date have been found at Clazomenae in Asia Minor (see above, p. 146). It was also customary in the fourth century B.C. in Italy to place in the tombs large vases with moulded decorations attached, corresponding to the painted vases of the same period, with funereal subjects (p. 182). The British Museum possesses a good specimen of a sepulchral urn from a tomb at Athens, which when found contained a jaw-bone with a small coin adhering to it, placed there as a fee to Charon when the deceased was ferried across the Styx.

Turning now to the more important and perhaps more generally interesting branch of the subject, we may proceed to trace the development of working in clay for purely artistic purposes. It is indeed characteristic of the Hellenic race that from its earliest beginnings it did not confine itself to the utilitarian aspect of this material, but soon learned its value, as an easily worked substance, for the production of images, not only of deities, but of animals and human beings. The history of the Greek word for sculpture is indicative of the antiquity of this practice; from the word πλάσσειν, which means literally 'to mould or knead,' *e.g.* in wet clay, and hence to model in any material, was derived the recognised classical word *plastike,* the 'plastic' art. Both Greek and Latin writers bear witness to the primitive use of clay for sculptured images; but it also had a formidable rival in wood, as is shown by the parallel development of the word *xoanon* (p. 70).

Tradition told of Prometheus as the inventor of clay images, and Roman poets speak of their oldest images as of plain unadorned clay; but the earliest sculptured work of which there is genuine literary record, was a group of figures of sun-dried clay, representing Dionysos feasting in the house of Amphiktion, which Pausanias saw in the Potters' quarter at Athens. Elsewhere he describes the antefixal groups already mentioned, which being of baked clay must have been of later date.

[1] See Plate LXXX.

But modern researches enable us to trace statuettes of terra-cotta back to a far remoter origin. In Cyprus and elsewhere rude idols of this material reach back to the Mycenaean period, and among them are figures of goddesses clasping infants to their breasts which seem to be the product of some primitive form of nature-worship, even as, later, Earth (Gaia) was worshipped as the Nursing-mother. This idea is probably of Oriental origin, and similar rude figures have been found in Chaldaea and Phoenicia. The next stage, corresponding to the Geometrical period in Greek pottery, is marked by the appearance of a series of columnar or board-like figures, in which the limbs are hardly—often not at all—distinguished, and the features sketchily modelled, or only roughly indicated in black paint. These are chiefly found in Cyprus, where the 'columnar' type prevails; in Rhodes, where both types are found; and in Boeotia, where the 'board' type was most popular. They date from about the seventh century B.C., but some of the Boeotian figures show comparatively developed modelling in the heads. These are further interesting for the manner in which they are decorated with patterns in black and purple, recalling the contemporary vases of that district.

These are followed in the sixth and fifth centuries by statuettes of more developed archaic style, with modelled limbs and drapery, in which two types prevail, almost to the exclusion of all others. These are the *standing and seated female figures*[1] which, as we have already seen in Chapter V., played such a prominent part in the development of early Greek sculpture. They are mainly, as far as can be judged, of mythological import, representing especially the underworld deities, Demeter and Persephone; but the same types seem to have been used indiscriminately for votive offerings in temples and for funeral purposes. In the latter case they were originally regarded as habitations for the souls or ghosts of the departed, as well as representations of the protecting deities of the nether world. The primitive Greek mind has been frequently observed to confuse the deity with his worshipper, and in many cases this confusion manifests itself in art by the employment of the same type for both conceptions.

Another favourite product of the archaic period was the so-called funeral mask or bust, of which large numbers, chiefly feminine, have been found in the tombs.[2] Here again Egyptian influences are to be detected, the idea having evidently taken its rise from the coffins

[1] Examples are given on Plate LXXXIII.

[2] *Ibid.*

which we see modelled in the upper part in the form of the deceased person. The Greeks converted these into female busts, retaining the hollowed-out back, and by the addition of a veil and the typical high headdress of the underworld deities evolved presentments of their favourite Demeter and Persephone. We read of such a mask in the pages of Pausanias, who tells us that at Pheneus in Arcadia a religious ceremony took place in which a priest wore a mask representing Demeter.

Next, there is a class of archaic terra-cottas which are obviously only children's playthings and nothing more, and were buried in the tombs of children as if for their use in a future existence. They comprise dolls with jointed limbs, figures of horsemen and animals, and other objects, such as boats or fruit.[1] There is a pretty epigram in the Greek Anthology which tells us how Timarete dedicated to Artemis the playthings of her childhood, including her dolls and their clothes:

> 'Maiden, to thee before her marriage Timarete gives
> Her cap, her tambourines, her favourite ball,
> And as is meet, oh! Artemis, the maiden brings
> Her childhood's toys, her dolls, their clothes, and all.'[2]

The Greek word here used for doll is κόρη, 'girl' or 'maiden,' a word in general use for terra-cotta figures of girls at the period when the Tanagra statuettes were in fashion. Some of these little figures are very charming and graceful conceptions, as for instance the elf-like figure clad in red and blue who rides on a swan, in the British Museum collection;[3] or the groups representing scenes from daily life, a woman making pastry with a rolling-pin, or a barber at work on a boy's head.

Many archaic statuettes again are of a grotesque nature, or caricatures of higher type, and though it is probable that the majority are purely sportive and fanciful, some seem to be actually religious in their significance. This grotesque element in Greek religion was no new thing; it played a large part in the Eleusinian mysteries, with reference to the time when Baubo diverted Demeter from her grief by coarse jesting, and burlesque acting seems to have been thought appropriate to the cult of the mysterious Cabeiric deities.

[1] In a tomb at Kameiros, dating about 480 B.C., were found two reliefs, two fruits in terra-cotta, and several miniature vases; in another, a bird, two dolls, and a figure of a child in a cradle.

[2] Translation by Miss Hutton, *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes*, p. 4.

[3] See for this and other figures Plate LXXXI.





MELIAN RELIEFS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



ARCHAIC GREEK TERRACOTTAS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

Some of these terra-cotta figures, realistic and coarse in a high degree, were perhaps offerings for recovery from childbirth. Others take the form of squatting figures of Satyrs and other grotesque creations, and this type has been traced to an Egyptian origin in the form of Ptah-Socharis, a deity who is always represented crouching with hands on knees and dwarfish yet exaggerated proportions.

Archaic terra-cotta work, at least towards the beginning of the fifth century, often takes the form of reliefs, made from moulds and often repeated. These are usually in the shape of small plaques, with or without background, and often cut *à jour* in a sort of open-work. The exact purpose for which they were made is somewhat doubtful, but some are clearly of a votive character, and it is supposed that they were dedicated in temples, while their rectangular form renders it probable that they were let into the walls. There are two principal groups of these reliefs, known respectively as 'Melian' and 'Locrian,' from the sites on which the majority have been found.

The Melian reliefs are usually of open-work, and are confined to the island of Melos and other Aegean sites; they are all of advanced archaic style, about 480 B.C. Their subjects are usually mythological: Perseus slaying Medusa, Bellerophon attacking the Chimaera, or Eos (Dawn) carrying off Kephalos.[1] The other group is represented by reliefs found on the Acropolis at Athens, and at Locri in Southern Italy, all being votive plaques with figures of the deities to whom they were dedicated, Athena in one case, Persephone in the other, or with appropriate subjects. We have already seen that it was customary to decorate temples with slabs of painted or sculptured terra-cotta, and no doubt these served a similar purpose. But some of the smaller reliefs, chiefly in the form of Satyrs' or Gorgons' heads, are known to have been employed in the decoration of tombs and sarcophagi.

The processes employed in the manufacture of terra-cottas by the Greeks were five in number, though it does not follow that all five were necessarily employed in the production of any one object. They were as follows: (1) the preparation of the clay; (2) moulding and modelling; (3) retouching and adding details; (4) baking; (5) colouring and gilding.

There appears to have been considerable variety among the clays in use in different parts of the Greek world, and some, such as that

[1] See Plate LXXXII.

of Cape Kolias in Attica, always enjoyed special renown. It was from this latter that the famous painted vases were principally made. Some potters preferred red clay, others white; others again a mixture of the two; but for the vases a red clay was usually employed. In the terra-cottas of Athens five varieties of clay have been noticed, in those of Myrina in Asia Minor no less than nine; but these may be partly due to circumstances of firing rather than intrinsic differences.

The earliest terra-cottas and the smaller objects, such as the toys, were produced by modelling the figure in a solid mass; but subsequently the use of a mould became almost invariable. The invention of modelling in clay, or rather of modelling reliefs as opposed to figures in the round, was traditionally ascribed to Butades of Sikyon (see p. 74) who, according to the story (which varies somewhat in detail), traced the portrait of his daughter's lover in outline on the wall and filled it in with clay. Probably he hollowed out the lines of the face after they were drawn, and impressed wet clay into the hollows, by means of which he obtained the result in relief. But the whole story must be received with caution.

The chief advantages of the use of a mould were the scope it gave for reducing the 'walls' of the figure to the smallest possible thickness, thereby avoiding the danger of shrinkage in the baking, and the consequent extreme lightness obtained, as well as greater accuracy in detail. The mould itself was of terra-cotta baked very hard; many examples of these moulds are preserved in our museums, as well as moulds for terra-cotta vases with reliefs, or for lamps. The heads and arms were usually modelled separately and attached afterwards, the average number of moulds required for one figure being about four, but some of the more elaborate had even more.

The first step was to smear the inner surface of the mould with moist clay, covering every part; other layers were then added to the requisite thickness. The back was made separately, either in a mould or by hand, and fitted on; it was in most cases left unmodelled, or with only slight indications of form, and almost always had a circular or rectangular hole left in it to allow of the evaporation of moisture. Although a whole series of figures was frequently cast in one mould, there were many devices for redeeming such series from the charge of monotony, by varying the pose of the head or attaching the arms in different ways; or, again, by different attributes, varieties of colouring, and other small details. This was all achieved in the process of

retouching, the chief object of which was to bring out details by working them up with a tool.

Herein lies the reason why the Tanagra statuettes, through which runs such a strong family likeness, yet prove so marvellously varied on a close inspection; as a French writer has well said: 'All the Tanagra figures are sisters, but few of them are twins.' In this connection it is instructive to observe two statuettes of Eros burning a butterfly with his torch, which are in the British Museum collection; both are from the same mould, and in appearance they are identical, except for the colouring that remains on one of the pair; but one stands far above the other in artistic charm because it is more finished in detail (see Plate LXXXVI.).

In baking the terra-cottas, the great danger was an ill-regulated or excessive temperature, which for this purpose was much lower than required for the highly-glazed vases; it was also necessary to see that all moisture evaporated, yet not too rapidly. Plutarch tells a story of a terrible disaster that befell the terra-cotta chariot cast for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol at Rome, showing how, by some neglect, the clay swelled up to such an extent that it was necessary to destroy the kiln to extract the figure.

As a general rule, all statuettes were coloured, though the present appearance of many may not suggest it; the exceptions are chiefly among the earliest and latest examples. The medium by means of which the colour was laid on was a white 'slip' of a creamy colour and consistency, with which the whole figure (except the back) was coated; this when dry became very flaky and thus tended to drop off, carrying the colours with it. This white slip was retained for the nude parts and often for the drapery, but the latter was frequently striped with red or blue, or wholly painted in one of these colours. For features and other details, such as the hair, black and red were employed, or deep yellow. Gilding was more rarely used, except for small objects, imitation jewellery being sometimes made in later times in gilded terra-cotta. At Athens and Tanagra, and more frequently in the Sicilian terra-cottas of the Hellenistic period, an enamelled glaze is sometimes found, usually of a grey colour, but sometimes of pink or orange to suggest flesh-tints.

The question of the uses to which the terra-cotta statuettes were put is a very difficult one, owing to the varying circumstances under which those of similar type have been found, and also to the difficulty

in many cases of determining whether they have a mythological significance. They are found chiefly in tombs, but large numbers come from the sites of temples and sanctuaries, and they have even been found in private houses. It is clear, therefore, that they were used for religious purposes and funeral ceremonies, and in daily life, and that even if their primary signification was religious, that cannot have been their exclusive end.

Literary evidence tells us but little, though Plato alludes to the practice of hanging up small figures (*korai*) in shrines, and Demosthenes condemns the Athenians for electing 'figure-head' generals 'like makers of clay figures for the market.' Later writers speak of 'those who buy *korai* for their children,' or of making little images of animals in clay in order to trick children; and thus we see that a fourth use of terra-cotta figures was that to which allusion has already been made, as children's toys.

As regards their use in the house, whether for ornament or otherwise, we have as yet little evidence one way or the other; but it may be possible that many of those found in the tombs had previously served some such purpose. For us moderns, accustomed to adorn our houses with pretty things, it is difficult to believe that the charming Tanagra statuettes, devoid as they apparently are of all special significance, were either made for religious or funeral purposes; yet their presence in such numbers in the tombs calls for some explanation.[1] Originally, no doubt, the terra-cottas placed in the tombs were images of the deities placed round the dead to protect him, as we have already seen in speaking of the archaic types.

In time, however, though the customs lingered on, the symbolism became obscured and the religious meaning a mere convention, while the growth of artistic taste side by side with a rationalising tendency in religious ideas transformed the votive figures into mere objects of art. Thus the archaic types were transformed into mere *genre* creations: a group of the Earth as nursing-mother being converted into one of an ordinary mother with her baby; the standing goddess, with a bird or flower as her attribute, into the girl with a flower or playing with a dove, who is so common a type among the Tanagra figures.

[1] Mention should be made here of a recent acquisition of the British Museum, the contents of the tomb of a girl, with a figure of the deceased on a throne, as if deified, surrounded by a bridal vase, a spinning implement, a pair of boots, and other objects in terra-cotta. The whole find is of comparatively late date.



TANAGRA STATUETTES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





TERRACOTTA GROUPS OF THIRD-CENTURY STYLE:
1. WOMEN CONVERSING (FROM MYRINA)
2. GIRLS PLAYING WITH KNUCKLEBONES (FROM CAPUA)
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

USES OF STATUETTES

To sum up the question as briefly as possible, it may be laid down as a fair statement of the case that terra-cotta figures fall under two heads: those in which the meaning is conditioned by the circumstances under which they were found, and those whose meaning is purely accidental. The first class will include those of the archaic period, and others, the object of which is clearly votive whether the meaning is mythological or not; the second, the bulk of the later terra-cottas, such as those of Tanagra, which are chiefly found in tombs, but may be found under other circumstances. In the former case, the strict adherence to one type, as in the archaic seated goddesses, implies their religious associations; in the latter, the illimitable variety of subject, pose, and conception seems to indicate that no special meaning was intended to be conveyed, but that they were regarded as objects of beauty for the living, and, if the purchaser so chose, appropriate offerings to the immortals or to the dead.

It has often been remarked that Greek terra-cottas do not exhibit, like the other branches of ancient art, a continuous and gradual development from archaism to perfection, followed by a similar decadence, but that there is an abrupt break in the fifth century during which this art is almost unrepresented. This is not to say that there is no 'finest period' for Greek terra-cottas, as the products of the Tanagra tombs show, but only that this period of perfection is (apparently, at any rate) widely separated from the archaic period, the Tanagra figures being usually dated between the middle of the fourth and the middle of the third century. If evidence is sought on this point, it is yielded by the results of the excavations at Tanagra, which showed that in the tombs of the sixth century containing archaic painted vases, archaic statuettes were not uncommon; in those of the fifth *only* painted vases were found, while the tombs which contained such thousands of terra-cotta figures only yielded plain black-glazed pottery of a kind that did not come into use before the fourth century.

This seems to point to the probability that there was a fashion in tomb-furniture, at least at Tanagra; and that for a time here, as also at Athens, painted vases had the preference, but that, when that art died out, the terra-cottas resumed their sway, with the happiest results. But in regard to many sites, such as Rhodes, it is probable that another influence was at work, and this was the hieratic tendency which often manifests itself so strongly in Greek art. That is to say, that the terra-cottas which are archaic in style are not so in point of date, but

that the old style was deliberately adhered to, as at Athens in the case of the prize amphorae (p. 173), purely on religious grounds. The evidence of Rhodian tombs certainly points in this direction, for there terra-cottas of archaic type were often found with red-figured vases of a much more advanced technique and style. It is also obvious that this principle was likely to be still stronger in the case of votive offerings in temples.

Terra-cotta figures of what we may call fifth-century style are thus exceedingly rare; those that we possess are chiefly from Athens, or from isolated finds in Greece, and there is also a series of votive terra-cottas found at Larnaka in Cyprus, of which some fine specimens are in the British Museum.[1] A French writer of authority considers that these are the best examples we possess of the 'grand Attic style' of the fifth century, and he explains this sudden and unexpected achievement by supposing that the moulds for the figures were imported direct from Athens.

To know, therefore, what were the characteristics of the best Greek work in terra-cotta, we must turn our attention to the succeeding period, and to its most typical products, the Tanagra statuettes.[2] And therein we are at once confronted with a startling change. The seated and standing feminine types are, it is true, still in a majority, but it is their meaning that has changed. In a word, they are no longer mythological, but *genre* figures; no longer suggestive of religious beliefs, but only of secular daily life. The revolution, however, or rather the evolution, is due more to artistic development than to the alterations in religious ideas. Art-types became secularised, and the originally religious conceptions were adopted almost unconsciously for subjects drawn from daily life, or even without any special significance.

Hence we find an almost unlimited variety of the feminine standing types, including women or girls in every conceivable pose or attitude. In most cases the arms are more or less concealed by the mantle which is drawn closely across the figure, even covering the hands; but many hold a fan, mirror, wreath, or theatrical mask in one hand, while with the other they gather together the folds of their draperies. Some, again, lean on a column, others play with a bird. The long tunic or *chiton*, and the mantle or *himation*, which all without exception wear, formed the typical dress of the Greek matron and girl; and to this was added for outdoor wear a large shady hat. This, in the fifth

[1] See Plate LXXXVII.

[2] See Plate LXXXIV. for some typical specimens.

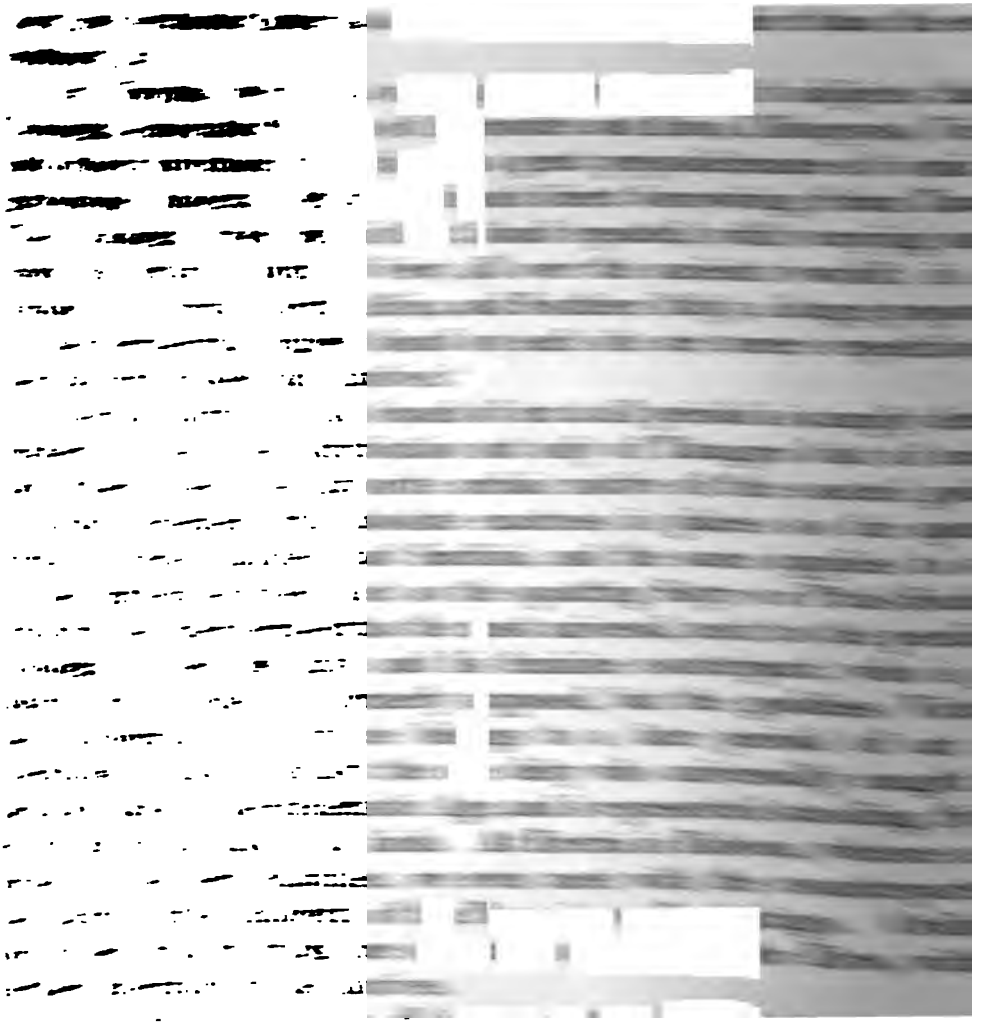
century, was only worn by women when travelling, but later became part of their every-day costume. It is one of the details which marks the date of these figures, and another is the fan, a luxury introduced from the East in the fourth century. The seated types follow much on the same lines, but are more rare; the chair or throne of the archaic period is replaced by a rocky base, which at once added picturesqueness to the composition and an appearance of stability and freedom to the figure.

'Just as the paintings on the Attic vases of the fifth century reflect the aims and achievements of the contemporary sculptors and monumental painters,' so do the charming little terra-cotta figures from Tanagra 'help us to realise more distinctly and vividly the world of forms which ministered to the taste of the epoch of Praxiteles. The marvellous grace and beauty of the attitude, motion, and form, the inexhaustible variety attained with an apparently small number of models, and the brilliancy of colouring on the best-preserved specimens, have spread their fame world-wide. . . . Now we know just how Greek polychrome sculpture looked, at least on a small scale, and can delight in the lively, brilliant, yet harmonious colouring of these women and girls, with their rich yet graceful drapery, their palm-leaf fans and their broad-brimmed hats. . . . Almost all the female figures, whether they represent goddesses or mortals, have a similar type of face, which the artists seemed to have tried again and again to improve till they attained a certain standard of perfection.'[1]

Altogether homogeneous in style and character, it is uncertain whether these Tanagra figures belong to a short and clearly defined period or to a longer period of little change and development. But many details tend to show that they must be placed in the earlier part of the Hellenistic age, between 350 and 200 B.C., which is that covered by the age of Alexander the Great and his successors. The conceptions certainly reflect the characteristics of this age rather than the Praxitelean and other schools of sculpture in the fourth century, as may be seen, for instance, in the treatment of the god Eros. The vital difference between the Tanagra figures and the Greek sculpture of the best period is that the former aim chiefly at grace of movement, and exhibit a tendency to taper upwards from an enlarged base, the effect of which, though full of grace and elegance, lacks the beauties of the better-proportioned statues.

It is, however, more likely that the true source of their inspiration

[1] Kekulé in Baedeker's *Greece*, second edition, p. xcvii.





TERRACOTTA STATUETTES FROM MYRINA AND THE CYRENAICA
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

is to be sought in painting. There was an important school of this art in Boeotia in the fourth century (see above, p. 156), which largely devoted itself to the production of similar subjects; and we may conversely observe the influence of the terra-cottas in the paintings of Pompeii, which reflect a later stage of pictorial art. In the terra-cottas of Myrina in Asia Minor, which in artistic merit stand next to those of Tanagra, Hellenistic characteristics are even more strongly marked, and the figures are altogether freer from ancient traditions; they are certainly later as a whole, and hardly earlier than the second century B.C.

At Myrina we find a much greater variety of subjects than at Tanagra, especially figures of Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysos, Victory, and other divinities; there is also a great preponderance of comic and grotesque subjects; yet withal much direct borrowing from Tanagra. The Tanagra types are, in fact, found repeated, with varying success from an artistic point of view, all over the ancient world: in Asia Minor, in Cyprus, North Africa, and Southern Italy, a large proportion of the terra-cotta figures found on each site are mere repetitions of the favourite poses and motives.[1]

The popularity of this branch of art at all periods is amply demonstrated by the wide distribution not only of Tanagra but of archaic and other types; the favourite archaic motive of the seated goddess is found repeated with absolute exactness in places so far apart as Syria, Cyrene, Rhodes, and Sardinia, and the same applies to some of the grotesque types, such as the squatting Satyr or Ptah-Socharis. Among the later terra-cottas the most universal, next to the peculiarly Tanagran types, are Eros and his feminine counterpart, who is probably not Psyche, as formerly supposed, but the goddess Victory; the conception of Psyche belongs to a later period of art and literature. Eros is almost the one deity who universally caught the popular taste in the Hellenistic Age, and is represented standing, flying, or riding on animals of all kinds. At Eretria in Euboea, whence come some of the best examples, we even meet with the counterparts of the playful little Amoretti of the Pompeian wall-paintings. Ordinary boy-types without wings are sometimes substituted for Eros, without further alteration of the motives.

Generally speaking, in all fabrics of the Hellenistic period the subjects are of the same character, but local influences often produce interesting developments: as in Cyprus, where there was a strong

[1] Examples of these later terra-cottas are given on Plates LXXXV., LXXXVI.



TERRACOTTA STATUETTES FROM MYRINA AND THE CYRENAICA
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



STATUETTES FROM CYPRUS AND SICILY:
1, 3, 4. FROM SICILY; 2. FROM CYPRUS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

tendency to adhere to the ancient religious types; or in Sicily, where taste ran in the direction of winged or half-draped figures, covered with a bright-coloured enamel glaze; or again at Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta, where the influence of Egyptian mythology in its later developments is very strongly marked. These terra-cottas belong chiefly to the Ptolemaic period (about 200-50 B.C.), and illustrate the growing influence of such cults as that of Isis and Harpocrates, deities who were subsequently much popularised by the Romans, or the uncouth god Bes. The terra-cottas of Tarentum are the most characteristic of those from Italian sites; they were chiefly found on the sites of shrines of Dionysos and Persephone, the typical underworld deities, who were much worshipped there. The favourite subject is that of the 'funeral banquet,' representing the heroified dead, or even the god Dionysos himself, reclining at a couch cup in hand and accompanied by a veiled woman, who is also sometimes transformed into Persephone.

Before we pass from this subject, it may be instructive to note with some additional detail the characteristics of the terra-cotta figures found in the various parts of the Greek world. It is the more essential to say something on this head, because the differences are in many cases strongly marked. The terra-cottas of Cyprus, of Rhodes, of Asia Minor, of Tanagra, of Egypt, of North Africa, and of Sicily all exhibit peculiar features, and in some regions, such as Rhodes and Cyprus, they enjoyed more popularity in the archaic period; in others, such as Myrina in Asia Minor, and the Cyrenaica, the majority are of late date. Roughly speaking, a geographical order from East to West corresponds more or less with a chronological arrangement.

We begin then with Cyprus, of which we have already seen something in our account of the primitive types. In the second period of Cypriote art, usually called the Graeco-Phoenician (800-400 B.C.), many of the primitive types still find a place, and the figures generally are very rude both in style and technique. They are mostly modelled by hand, not moulded, and the tombs contain large numbers of horsemen, worshippers with offerings, of the 'columnar' type, or figures of animals, fashioned in the roughest possible manner. On the sites of sanctuaries, as at Achna,[1] the usual type is that of a goddess with an attribute, such as a flower or bird, who may be identified according to circumstances as Aphrodite, Artemis, or Persephone. The incoming of Greek influences in the fifth century wrought a

[1] Examples may be seen in the Terra-cotta Room of the British Museum, cases 1-2.

great change, as we have seen in the case of the Larnaka terra-cottas (p. 194), and henceforward the local quasi-Oriental types entirely disappear, their place being taken by imported figures of the kind usually associated with Asia Minor. But in many cases the development from the primitive Cypriote types may be clearly traced.

In the island of Rhodes large numbers of statuettes have been found at Kameiros, ranging in style from the most primitive columnar or board-like figures down to comparative freedom. But all are more or less archaic, and it would seem that hieratic influences were very strong in Rhodes, unnaturally retarding the progress of art in the terra-cottas. The seated and standing female types largely prevail, but riding or reclining male figures, grotesques, and toys of all kinds are common. An interesting series of funeral masks (see p. 188), some of considerable size, presents the same features of hieratic retardation, though some are comparatively free. Kameiros was destroyed in 408 B.C., and therefore the most developed figures probably belong to the end of the fifth century.

In Asia Minor a large number of terra-cottas, mostly of developed style, were found by Sir Charles Newton at Knidos and Halikarnassos; at the former in the precinct of Demeter and Persephone, where they were packed in layers in a subterranean chamber, 'assorted like articles in a shop.' They are mostly small and of no great merit, the types including Demeter and Persephone and other deities. Further north, by far the most important site is Myrina in Aeolis, where MM. Pottier and Reinach excavated many fine examples in 1880-84; these are now in the Louvre. The dates of the tombs range from 300 B.C. to the first century of the Roman Empire, and the terra-cottas are all of advanced type, much influenced by Tanagra, but with peculiarities of their own both in style and subject. The favourite type is a flying figure, Eros or Victory,[1] and Aphrodite and Dionysiac subjects are also common, as well as actors, grotesques, and caricatures. They are also much influenced by Hellenistic art, especially by the Asiatic schools of sculpture, and some reproduce more or less freely well-known works of art. Others again preserve the ancient hieratic types in a more or less altered form.

In Greece Proper the chief centre is of course Tanagra, the products of which have already been discussed. At Athens there was a decided preference for painted vases over terra-cotta figures, and the latter are comparatively rare, whereas at Tanagra the painted vases

[1] See Plate LXXXVI.

are seldom found. The ordinary archaic types, seated or standing figures, toys and dolls are more often found than those of developed style, and about five thousand occurred among the votive objects excavated on the Acropolis. Another site which has achieved a reputation (not always a satisfactory one) in recent years is Eretria in Euboea, where the terra-cottas largely resemble those of Myrina, with a preference for ornate and lively compositions, such as dancing girls and flying Cupids. They are entirely Hellenistic in spirit, and seem to have proved a great attraction for the modern forger (see below).

At Naukratis in Egypt terra-cottas of a coarse brick-like clay have been found in large numbers, but mostly of a late date, the Ptolemaic period. Similar finds have been made in the Fayûm. As already noted, Egyptian influence is strongly manifested, both in style and subject, and there is no doubt that the majority are of local fabric, with occasional importations from Tanagra or elsewhere, easy to distinguish.

The district known as the Cyrenaica, on the north coast of Africa, has supplied many terra-cottas to the British Museum and the Louvre, some of archaic style, others obviously hieratic or archaistic, but the majority of free style and late date. The influence of Tanagra seems to have been stronger here than almost anywhere, but the difference of style is very marked. The colouring is gaudy and crude, the workmanship rough and careless, and they are generally of little merit or interest. The favourite subjects are standing girls of the well-known Tanagra types, and Eros or a boy riding on some animal.[1]

We need only further mention Sicily, where terra-cottas have been found on most sites, especially those of Centuripae, Gela, and Selinus.[2] Professor Kekulé points out[3] that Sicilian terra-cottas show a marked individuality, especially in later times, and that their development, though passing through the usual stages of Greek art, is always independent and peculiar. Those from Gela and Selinus are of the archaic period, and at the latter place a votive series has recently been found representing almost every known type, and very richly coloured. At Centorbi (Centuripae), on the other hand, the Hellenistic style is best represented. The influence of Tanagra and Myrina is nowhere apparent, but there is some parallelism in subjects and other details with the Cyrenaica.

[1] See Plate LXXXVI. [2] See for specimens Plate LXXXVII.

[3] See his *Terracotten von Sicilien* (1884), which contains a full discussion of the subject.

It would not, perhaps, be right to close the subject of Greek terra-cottas without making at least a passing allusion to a somewhat delicate question, namely, that of forgeries. There is perhaps no branch of Greek art in which there is so much room for doubts as to genuineness, as in the terra-cotta figures. And the amateur collector is placed at a special disadvantage in this matter, because it is one in which even the specialist's judgment may be at fault, or at least contradicted by that of an equally competent authority. The ingenuity of the modern fabricator of terra-cottas has reached such a height that it is possible to imitate with success colouring, appearance and texture of surface, and breakages. Consequently there are many pieces, not only in private but even in public collections, which are as stoutly condemned by some of the most experienced archaeologists as they are upheld by others.

The fact is that so long as the modern craftsman is content to be a mere copyist, and reproduce with absolute faithfulness the genuine models before him, he can do so practically with complete success. Fortunately or unfortunately, however, 'vaulting ambition which o'erleaps itself,' impels him to improve upon his model, or to combine details from different sources in an impossible manner, and it is usually in this way that he just manages to overreach himself. Obviously these small points are virtually certain to escape the notice of the average collector, being such as could only be detected by an expert of lifelong acquaintance with the art, and thus within certain limits his market is assured.

It may, however, be some consolation to the amateur to realise that a forgery is not necessarily without merit. That is to say, as long as it claims to be nothing more than a modern imitation of Greek work, it may still be a work of art—and we have seen more than one forged terra-cotta which really deserved to be called a thing of beauty—even though it may offend against all the canons of Greek art. As, however, this is not the forger's only object in producing his imitations, and the aim of the collector is usually to possess genuine antiques, he cannot be said to justify his existence.

Up to the year 1875 forgeries in terra-cotta were practically unknown, and in fact the majority of statuettes then in existence had come from well-attested sources, such as the archaeological explorations of Sir Charles Newton in Asia Minor, or of Messrs. Salzmann and Biliotti in Rhodes. It was the extraordinary discoveries of the years 1874-75 at Tanagra which first led to their

appearance in the market, a not unnatural result of the general *furore* which these charming novelties had caused among amateur collectors and people of taste. Many of the imitations were good enough to deceive the very elect—and so long as the forger adhered to the ordinary types his task was not so difficult—but, as has already been said, ambition carried him too far.

A few years afterwards there appeared in the markets a number of groups of figures, purporting to have come from Asia Minor, which was then comparatively unexplored. They were, as a learned German authority has said, 'conceived in the antique spirit, and excellent imitations of technique.' To a great extent they were copied from single Tanagra figures, and combined, and it cannot be denied that 'artistically they were extraordinarily successful, a phenomenal occurrence in the history of forgeries'; they were 'sold in crowds and at the highest prices,' and the forgers 'celebrated a veritable orgy' with them. Even Museum authorities were deceived, and it was not until scientific excavations had been set on foot on the site of Myrina that the true character of Asia Minor terra-cottas began to be known. In spite of the exposure of these groups by a noted French scholar who took part in those excavations, they may still be met with here and there in private collections, accepted as antique, and, pleasing as many of them are, it is not always easy to give good reasons for their condemnation.

More recently, discoveries at Eretria in Euboea gave a new impetus to the industry. To quote again from the same source, these 'avoided all the pitfalls into which the group-makers had fallen, and adhered more closely to the antique.' Imitations of the archaic now became popular, and these were often exceedingly clever; figures were copied from the Aegina pediments or from red-figured vases, and were calculated to appeal to the growing familiarity of the public with archaic art. A collection recently in the market contained a terra-cotta group in which one of the figures was directly copied from a red-figured vase; but the forger betrayed himself by his misunderstanding of certain details in the original.

Professor Furtwaengler, whose acquaintance with works of Greek art is surpassed by none, has laid down certain canons of judgment which, if not infallible, may yet serve as a general guide to the student and collector. Imitations of Tanagra figures are, he says, always betrayed by their style, either through deviations from antique ideas, or from carelessness and exaggeration. The technique is so well

imitated that it presents more difficulties, but experience should always be able to detect the artificial encrustation with which they are usually supplied. An unfailing test of genuineness is where fibres appear in the encrustation, for these cannot be imitated. Another difficult matter, on which the Professor's conclusions have been called in question, is that of breakages. He maintains that these in all forgeries follow a fixed principle, but fail in that they are made in the wrong places, avoiding the important parts of the figure such as the face, which would seem to be the most exposed to damage. On the other hand, it is remarkable that although this is undoubtedly true in regard to sculpture, it is hardly the case with smaller figures, and hundreds of instances might be collected of genuine statuettes in which the heads are perfect but other parts injured. As with other branches of art, the safest guide is often the trained eye alone; and it must not be forgotten that in the progressive state of classical archaeology mistakes are often due to a want of knowledge which subsequent enlightenment is able to correct.

CHAPTER XI

GREEK GEM-ENGRAVING

Oriental use of precious stones—Signets and cylinders—Cretan and Mycenaean gem-engraving—Island-stones—Scarabs and Ionian gems—Gem-engraving of the archaic and finest periods—Scaraboids—Hellenistic intaglios—Artists' signatures—Cameos and vases—Gem-engraving in Etruria—Technical details—Modern imitations and forgeries.

THE history of precious stones as used by mankind goes back to a very remote antiquity, especially in the records of Oriental nations such as the Hebrews. From earliest times their use was twofold, either as personal or official ornaments, or for employment as signets engraved with a name or device for the sealing of documents. And further, the signet-ring in which the stone was fixed became at a very early period a symbol of power and authority. Many passages might be quoted from the Old Testament in support of these different uses, such as the ring with which Pharaoh invested Joseph,[1] or the breast-plate of the High Priest with its ornamentation of twelve precious stones.

Among Oriental nations the signet took various forms, of which the Egyptian scarab and the Babylonian cylinder are most familiar; the former was set in a ring of gold, and Egyptian rings wholly of gold, with engraved hieroglyphics on the bezel, are not uncommon, but the Assyrian people do not seem to have made much use of the finger-ring. The scarab, it is perhaps hardly necessary to say, is so called from its being carved at the back in the form of the sacred scarabaeus beetle, the symbol of the Sun-God Rā, the Fertiliser. The hieroglyphic design, which forms the signature of the Egyptian King, is cut on the flat under-side. It is supposed that the scarab came into general use in Egypt about the Eleventh Dynasty, or about 2500 B.C. In later times this became a favourite form for gems with

[1] *Gen.* xli. 42.

the Phoenicians, the Greeks, and the Etruscans; the Greeks, indeed, did not greatly favour the scarab shape, and the plain oval gems which take its place are known as scaraboids. These are not, however, to be regarded as imitations or debased forms of the scarab. Strictly speaking, these scarabs hardly come under the heading of precious stones, inasmuch as they are often made of glazed clay or soft steatite. Although they usually serve as an admirable guide to dating other objects, and form our most important source of evidence for the chronology of early Greek remains, some caution has to be exercised in this respect, as there was often a tendency to produce imitations of them in later times. Thus in the seventh- and sixth-century tombs of Amathus in Cyprus it is not uncommon to find scarabs with the cartouche of Thothmes III., who ruled over Egypt in the Eighteenth Dynasty, about 1560 B.C.

The cylinders of Babylonia and Assyria were usually cut out of hard stones, such as chalcedony, rock-crystal, haematite, or carnelian. They are drilled with holes longitudinally to receive a cord for suspending them round the neck or wrist, and are engraved with names in cuneiform characters and various designs, such as a king slaying a lion, worshippers approaching a god, or two animals guarding a sacred tree. This latter design is typically Assyrian, but appears independently at a very early period in Greece, though always in a conventionalised form, as we see it, for instance, in the Lion Gate at Mycenae (see p. 18). The tree takes the form of a column or an altar in many cases, as may be seen in some of the gems of the Mycenaean period. It is a type that has practically never died out in the history of art, although for many centuries it has had no meaning attached to it. It survives in Oriental textile work, and through Byzantine channels it even passed into the Romanesque art of Western Europe, and examples may be seen in the tympana of Norman doorways in our English parish churches.

The interest of Babylonian cylinders to the student of Greek art lies in the fact that they are not infrequently found in tombs of the Mycenaean age, especially in Cyprus, for which country a special class in haematite seems to have been manufactured; many, however, are of a debased character, and seem to be the work of the Phoenicians. They were used for sealing the cuneiform documents of the period by rolling them over the soft clay.

Passing allusion has already been made to the gem-engraving of the Mycenaean epoch, which, as we have seen, must now be regarded

as consisting really of two separate periods, representing respectively the Cretan and the Mycenaean supremacy. Dr. Arthur Evans's discoveries in Crete during the past ten years have made known to us large numbers of engraved stones which represent the earliest specimens found on Greek soil, dating as far back as the Twelfth Dynasty, or 2300 B.C. They are of varied form and material, usually steatite, and are cut by hand; many take the shape of pyramidal stones with a design on each side. Those with linear characters appear to be earlier in date than those with pictographic symbols; but there is no doubt



Fig. 17. Design on Mycenaean Gold Ring (Enlarged).

that in both we have—if we could but interpret them—the signs by means of which the Cretans of four thousand years ago expressed their language in writing. The 'pictographs' are of rude and primitive design, representing men, animals, vases, ornaments, and symbols of various kinds. Dr. Evans's researches in the palace of Minos at Knossos have yielded most interesting examples of their different uses at that time, for sealing documents in the Cretan script, or jars full of various commodities.

At Mycenae massive gold signet-rings were found, with broad bezels engraved with various subjects, of which the best known

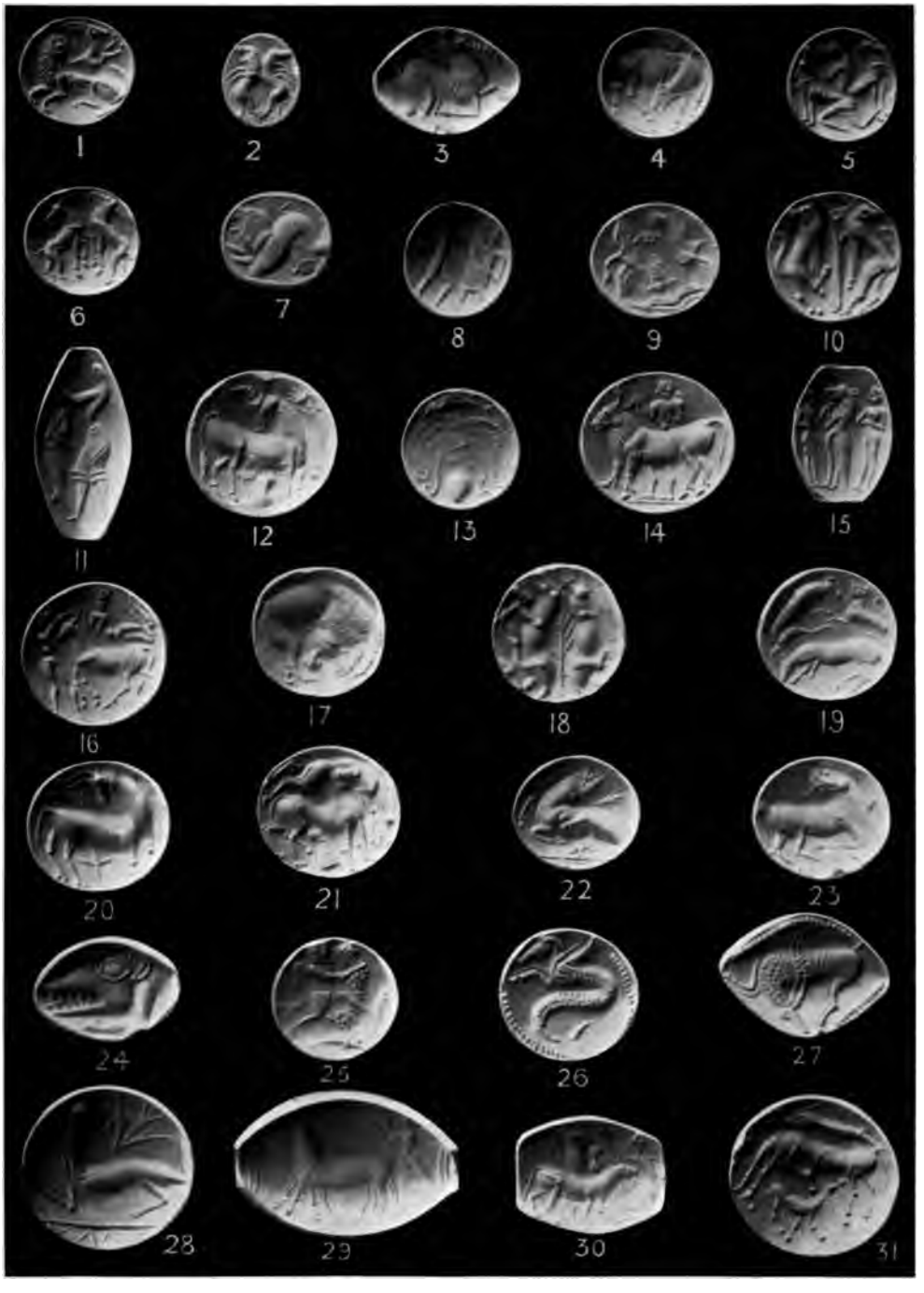
(Fig. 17) represents three ladies in a very remarkable and—to our notions—un-Greek costume, with skirts which are not only elaborately flounced, but to all appearance divided![1] Such a remarkably modern fashion now, however, causes the less surprise, since the discovery of the Cretan frescoes, with their extremely modern fashion-plate portrayal of the ladies of the period, to say nothing of the terra-cotta figures of Knossos and Petsofa.[2]

Mycenaean gems, like other branches of art, differ entirely in spirit from Oriental. In place of symbolism and convention we find freshness, originality, and independence of thought. But—as was the case with Greek art of the succeeding age—with this native individuality was combined a technical knowledge entirely dependent on Oriental influence. It is not always easy to separate the Greek from the non-Greek element in Mycenaean art, but as a general rule it may be said that the former prevails in the later work, the earlier exhibiting such un-Greek features as a preference for the lion, Sphinx, Gryphon, and palm-tree, and the peculiar costume both of men and women, the former being often clad only in a sort of loin-cloth. The non-Greek element is strong in Crete, the Greek in the Peloponnese, as illustrated by the Vaphio cups and the finds at Mycenae.

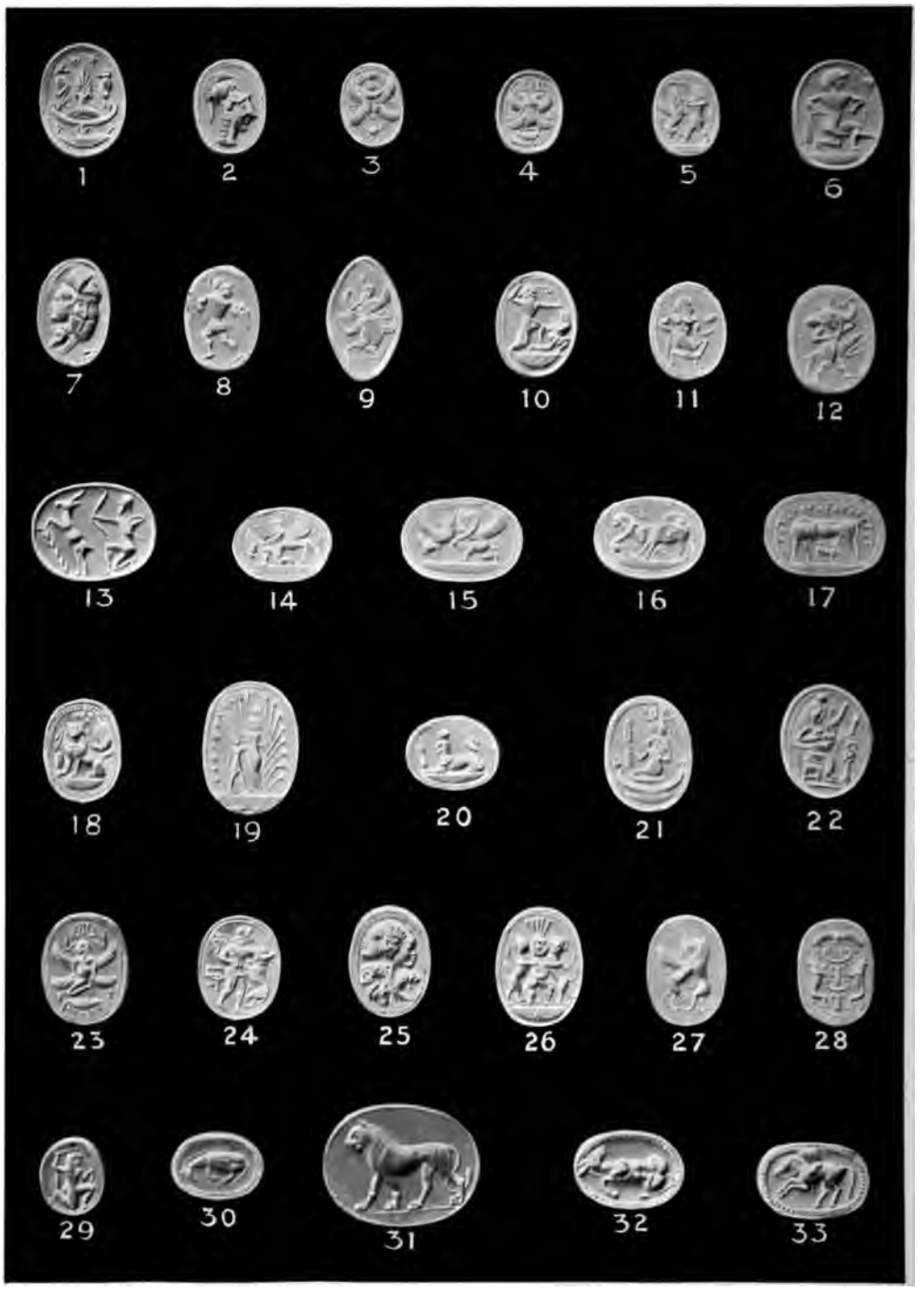
The subjects of Mycenaean gems are never religious, like those of Babylonia—unless the Cretan stones afford exceptions—nor have they any heraldic signification, like modern seals. They are purely decorative, and even though deities and daemons are often represented, it is with no symbolical or supernatural idea; like Homer's gods, they are purely human. The daemons again are usually monstrous variations of one form, the lion, perhaps with the intention of representing 'mighty hunters,' like Nimrod; analogies for these figures are certainly to be found in Babylonian art. The majority of the gems, however, represent animals only, mostly lions, oxen, goats, and deer; birds and fishes are also found, and a favourite subject is that of huntsmen taming or capturing wild bulls, as we have seen them on the Vaphio cups and the fresco of Tiryns. The animals are frequently posed as on the Lion Gate, in heraldic fashion, a pair with a column or sort of altar between them, in which conception we see an echo of the 'sacred tree' design (p. 204). Sometimes they are placed back to back, or with heads *regardant*; single

[1] This is probably an illusion, or rather 'an artistic rendering of the tendency of full-flounced skirts to fall in between the knees.'—(Miss Hutton in *Classical Review*, 1904, p. 283).

[2] See *British School Annual*, ix. pl. 8, p. 75 ff.



MYCENAEAN GEMS AND "ISLAND STONES"



GRAECO-PHOENICIAN AND IONIC GEMS

animals usually have the heads or limbs much contorted in order to fill the space.[1]

The finer gems are worked with the wheel, being in hard stone, such as carnelian, chalcedony, band-agate, amethyst, rock-crystal, haematite, jasper, or other unyielding materials; these ceased to be made after the best period of Mycenaean art. The hand-cutting method, with the drill, is used for ordinary gems throughout, these being cut in steatite and other soft stones. The usual forms are the circular or lenticular, and the glandular (so-called from its resemblance to a *glans*, or sling-pebble). Mycenaean gems are mostly found in Crete and the Peloponnese, but they have been found as far apart as Cyprus and Southern Italy. Except those of early Crete, they were not used as seals, but only as amulets or for personal adornment. The scarab, scaraboid, and cylinder forms are quite foreign to the style, although in material and technique there is much imitation of Oriental work. Many specimens find early analogies or prototypes in those of Babylonia.

Artistically they are of high merit, notably one of green basalt found by Dr. Arthur Evans in Laconia, with a bull and a sea-horse, and another of haematite in the British Museum, with the favourite subject of a man taming a bull.[2] In the best examples the artist has attained to a naturalism which is only excelled by the designs on the Vaphio cups. The peculiar strength of Mycenaean art, as a great authority has pointed out, is its conception of free movement; there is no copying or repetition, but all is original and individual. The work is, however, often too rapid and, so to speak, enthusiastic, to be carefully done. The artist often felt himself hampered by his inability to achieve perspective and foreshortening, but, on the other hand, he shows remarkable ingenuity in so disposing the figures as to occupy the whole of the available surface, in a way which arouses wonder rather than admiration. This *horror vacui* or dread of leaving a vacant space was characteristic of Greek artists at all periods; but it was left for the vase-painters and coin-engravers of the fifth century to overcome the objection in a truly artistic manner. In the Mycenaean gems it only produces strange attitudes and combinations of planes in one figure.

The period of Mycenaean art was followed by one which from the chief characteristic of its pottery has been styled the Geometrical

[1] Examples are given on Plate LXXXVIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 14.

period. This principle of decoration did not lend itself to gem-engraving, and as a matter of fact little was done in this period, which may account for the silence of Homer on this point. Where they do occur, however, the subjects are mainly animals of the types found on the vases, as in the finds in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens. Imitations of scarabs in faïence are not unknown, and there is a general preference for soft stones like steatite. This condition of things prevailed down to the end of the eighth century; but in the seventh a great change takes place, which may be attributed to the rise of art in Ionia. This manifests itself, as might be expected, in a revival of Mycenaean art-traditions, combined, however, with the Oriental ideas which at this time were maintaining so firm a foothold all over Greece. In the direction of gem-engraving this tendency is exhibited in a long series of engraved stones of Mycenaean form, though widely divergent in style, which, from the fact that they have been chiefly found in the Greek islands, are known as Island-stones. They are principally associated with the island of Melos, though not confined to the Aegean Sea.

The stone employed is generally a soft steatite, cut with the hand, not on the wheel, in a lenticular or glandular form; the execution is usually inferior, and the style exhibits none of the Mycenaean naturalism, but all the characteristics of early archaic Greek art. As a whole, this class may be profitably compared with the earliest Greek coins. A few mythological subjects are known, including a very interesting specimen in the British Museum, the contest of Herakles with a sea-deity entitled the Ἅλιος Γέρων, or 'Old Man of the Sea';[1] the combat of the hero with the Centaurs, a favourite subject in early art, is also found. But the majority have animal subjects, a limited number of types in conventional attitudes occurring repeatedly. Winged beast and sea-monsters are especially popular, as are the stag and lion, and the types may be compared with those seen on early Ionic painted vases. Imitation scarabs of this period are widely distributed, and have been found at Naukratis in Egypt, in Sicily, and in the Polledrara tomb at Vulci.

About the end of the seventh century, a new impulse was given to gem-engraving, partly by the general introduction of coinage and of writing, which in different ways affected the fashion, partly by the extensive importation of Egyptian scarabs and Phoenician engraved

[1] Plate LXXXVIII., No. 25.

gems. Henceforth they were used constantly both as seals and as personal ornaments, though in the latter capacity they were long in coming into fashion in Greece proper. But the wearing of rings must have been general among the luxurious people of Western Asia Minor, as we are reminded in the stories which Herodotus tells of the rings of Gyges and Polykrates.

The form of the new gems was determined by the scarab, which was largely popularised by the Phoenicians; they attempted to copy Egyptian hieroglyphics, but usually in a blundering fashion. The old island-stones entirely disappear, and throughout the sixth century the scarab is the only popular form in Greece, with designs cut with the wheel in a hard stone. The scaraboid, occasionally used by Greeks and Phoenicians alike, is rare until the following century, when it almost entirely ousts the scarab. For the Egyptians the scarab had a symbolical meaning, but to the Greeks it was only a meaningless ornamental form, and all archaic gems show the free un-hieratic character of Greek religion. While the Babylonian gems and cylinders present an unending series of worshippers at altars or praying to the gods, there is in the Greek gems, as in the Mycenaean, a perpetual freshness and a 'Lebensfreude' which lent themselves to an unrestricted creativeness and freedom of conception. The individuality of the artist also manifests itself at an early date, and we have in this period gems signed by Syries, and by Epimenes of Paros. The practice of using seals receives frequent illustration, and Solon enacted that no engraver might keep an impression of a gem which he had sold. On one stone is inscribed 'I am the seal of Thersis; do not open me.'[1]

Recent researches tend to show that, as in the preceding century, Ionia played a large part in the development of this art, and that most of the archaic gems in existence are of Ionian origin. The ring of Polykrates was traditionally said to be the work of the early artist Theodoros of Samos (see p. 74), and to have been an emerald set in gold. We are also told that Theodoros made a statue of himself holding a chariot and driver so minute that they were covered with the wings of a fly; this has been explained as a scarab with the subject engraved underneath, but the explanation seems superfluous. Mnesarchos of Samos, the father of Pythagoras, is also mentioned as a gem-engraver.

But the Ionians as a rule favoured metal rings with engraved

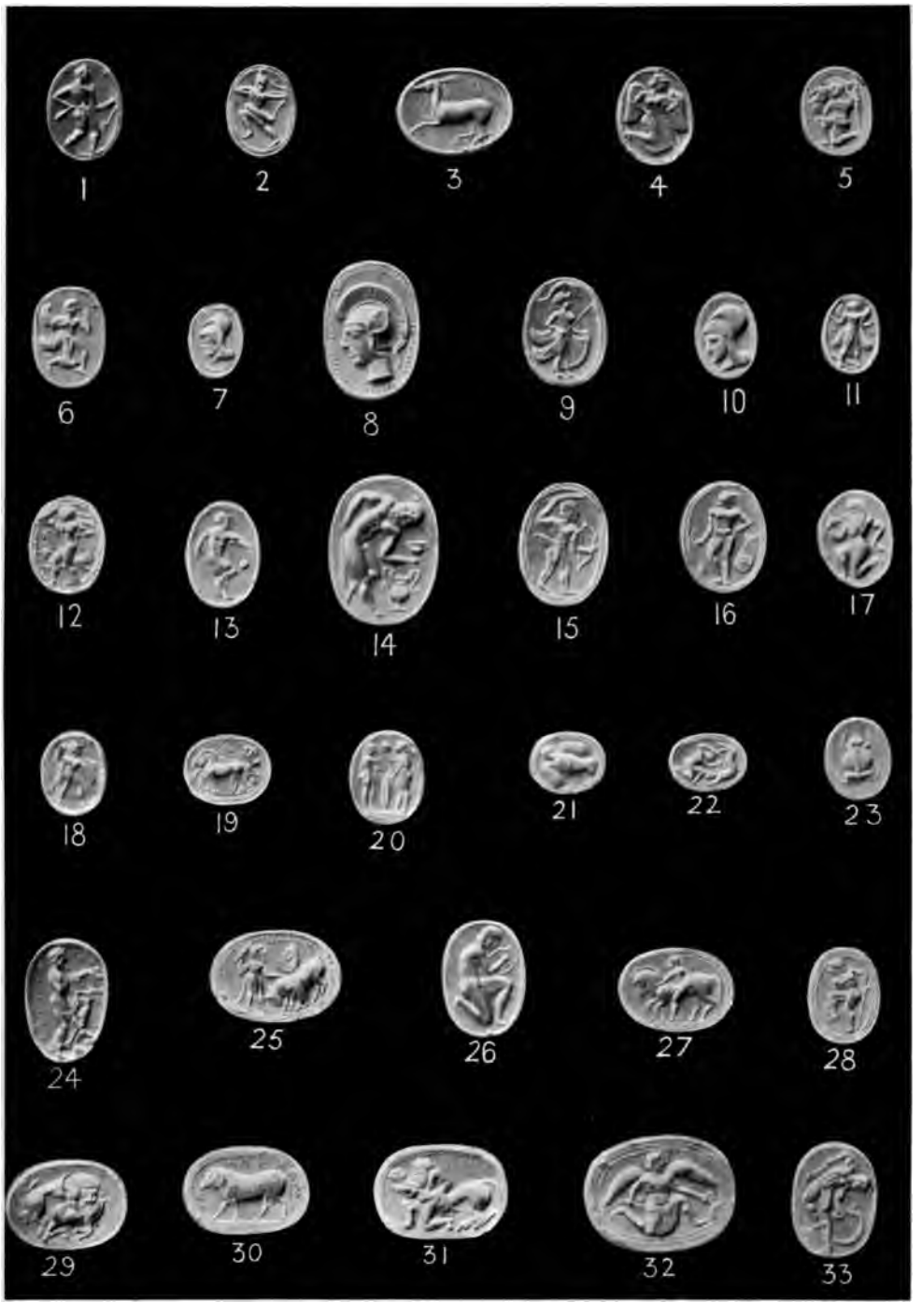
[1] See *Arch. Zeitung*, 1883, pl. 16.

designs rather than those set with precious stones. For this idea they were, as has been noted, indebted to Egypt, the oval bezel representing the Egyptian cartouche; and many of the Ionic rings have the field divided up in Egyptian fashion and quasi-Egyptian designs. The majority, however, are of purely Greek type, with a single field. Chariot-scenes are especially popular, and in many instances the designs may be compared with the contemporary vases attributed to an Ionic source. All these gems of Ionic style have been found in Italy, but it is uncertain to what extent they were made in Asia Minor and exported, or made on the spot by the Ionians who had migrated—as did the Phocaeans in 544 B.C.—from their original home to Cervetri and other places in Etruria.[1] There is, however, a class of engraved gems, differing from the engraved rings, which were certainly exported from Ionia to Italy. They are both of the scarab and the scaraboid form, and are not set in rings, but pierced through for attachment by means of a swivel, so as to be handy for use as seals. They are made in chalcedony, carnelian, striped agate, and other hard stones, and cut on the wheel.[2]

Archaic Greek gems of the sixth century fall into three classes: the Ionic gems already described, the Graeco-Phoenician scarabs from Sardinia and Cyprus, and Greek scarabs (mainly found in Etruria, but distinct from the Etruscan scarabs of native make). Many of the Graeco-Phoenician scarabs are of considerable beauty and delicacy of execution, though both style and subjects are, as is usual in all Phoenician art, a combination of Egyptian and Assyrian ideas. Deities and symbols are combined without any special meaning, merely in order to form a graceful composition. Greek influence, however, makes itself gradually felt, and by the end of the century succeeds in ousting all the Oriental element. Some of the best examples of Phoenician gems are to be found among those from Tharros in Sardinia, in the British Museum. They are mostly of green jasper, and many were found in their original mounts, consisting of plain gold swivel-rings on which the scarab could turn. They are probably of local make, but are not confined to the sixth century; some are as late as the fifth or even fourth, as is shown by the evidence of the vases found with them. The types represented on them include enthroned deities (Baal?), a deity with wild beasts, and

[1] Similarly, the vases which there is good reason for attributing to Ionian origin have nearly all been found in Italy, not in Asia Minor.

[2] Specimens of Ionic gems found in Asia Minor are given on Plate LXXXIX., Nos. 30-33.



ARCHAIC GREEK GEMS.



GEMS OF FIFTH CENTURY STYLE

the Egyptian Bes. The two latter are subsequently replaced by Herakles and Seilenos, as are the other types by Greek counterparts.[1]

The archaic Greek scarabs fall into three periods of development. At first there is little variety of motive and position, the attitudes of the figures being formal and conventional, the bodies turned half to the front, half to one side, and running figures represented in a sort of kneeling attitude. The main object is clearly to fill the space as conveniently as possible. Nor is there much attempt at rendering details of anatomy. In what may be called the transitional style, of about 500-480 B.C., a very marked change occurs, especially in the representation of the human form; it is parallel to the contemporaneous development of sculpture in the Aegina pediments and of painting in the work of Kimon and Euphronios. The attitudes are no longer stiff; the legs are given play, and even foreshortening occurs.

The subjects engraved on these archaic gems range over a wide field, from animals and *genre* subjects to heroic legends and figures of deities. Herakles is an especially popular figure, as are daemonic figures, inferior deities, and monsters or fantastic creations. Human figures often occur without special significance, such as warriors or persons kneeling. One of the finest of existing archaic Greek gems is an agate scarab of about 500 B.C. in the British Museum,[2] representing a Satyr dancing with a drinking-cup in one hand; though still showing an archaic stiffness, as in the bent attitude of the figure, the work is executed with great delicacy and spirit. The way in which minute details are brought out, such as the Satyr's tail and beard, and the patterns on the cup and wine-jar at his side, speak much for the technical skill of the artist; and it is interesting to note how much advance has been made since the island-gems in arranging the design so as to cover all the field. Another very exquisite gem of somewhat later date represents a young archer testing an arrow. The modelling of the figure and the rendering of the anatomical details are fully worthy of comparison with such a work as the Aegina marbles.

Greek gems of the best period, *i.e.* from 480 to 350 B.C., are unfortunately very rare in comparison with those both of earlier and of later times. This is partly due to the fact that they were only made for home use, and were not exported like the vases. In the sixth century there had been a considerable export (chiefly from Asia Minor) to Etruria, but in the fifth the Etruscans—as we shall presently see—

[1] For examples of Graeco-Phoenician gems, see Plate LXXXIX., Nos. 1-29.
[2] Plate XC., No. 14.

had learned to make their own gems, and no longer required to look to other nations to supply them. The only outflow was in the direction of the East. The Ionic Greeks of Asia Minor seem to have made large numbers of gems for Persia, adopting an Oriental style and Oriental subjects: these are mostly scaraboids of chalcedony. But they also kept up the traditions of the preceding century by producing fine Greek gems. and Athens became a centre for the Ionic gem-engravers, among whom was Dexamenos of Chios, a notable artist of the latter half of the fifth century.

His works are found in Attica, and also in Southern Russia, a region which at that period was in close commercial relations with Athens, as we learn from the private speeches of Demosthenes. Unlike many of the artists' signatures on Greek gems, his are always absolutely trustworthy. His style has been described as fine and subtle, showing the influence of Athens, and free from the soft, broad, and pictorial manner of Asia Minor, exemplifying the highest achievements of Greek glyptic art. The gems of Phrygillos reproduce the style of Pheidias, and others, which are unsigned, may be said to exhibit the characteristics of late fifth-century painting, such subjects as Philoctetes and a female Centaur recalling the themes favoured by Zeuxis and Parrhasios (p. 154). Onatas made a fine gem with a figure of Nike (Victory).

Some of the gems found in Sicily appear to be the work of the same individuals as the beautiful coins of the period (see below, p. 228). One which had served as an official seal of the city of Syracuse exactly resembles the gold coins of that city engraved by Kimon and Euainetos. Similarly a gem signed by the Athenian Olympios, which may be placed in the first half of the fourth century, recalls a coin of the contemporaneous Arcadian league with the type of Pan. Another with a lion devouring a stag reproduces a coin-type of Velia in Lucania.

Except in isolated instances the scarab form entirely disappears during the fifth century, and the prevailing form is the scaraboid, a plain oval stone with slightly convex back. The practice of boring the stone longitudinally is quite given up, and the stones are always intended for setting in rings instead of being hung on a swivel. Many of the rings of this period, especially those found in Southern Russia and Cyprus, are of metal throughout—gold, silver, or bronze—with designs engraved on the metal bezel; they appear to be Ionic in style, and are thus a survival of the fashion to which allusion has already

been made (p. 210). But the practice of wearing rings was still regarded as a luxury, and Aristophanes[1] scoffs at the gilded youth of his time for wearing long hair and onyx seal-rings. In the inventories of the Parthenon treasures, which date from 434 B.C. onwards, seal-rings of gold and silver, set with onyx, jasper and sard stones, are frequently mentioned.[2]

The commonest stones at this time are chalcedony, carnelian, banded agate, sardonyx and rock-crystal. Dexamenos favours a mottled jasper. Glass pastes also seem to have been frequently employed, and are mentioned in the Parthenon inventories. In regard to the technique there is an evident preference for the use of broad stumpy tools rather than sharp-pointed ones, and little use is made of the drill. The object aimed at seems to have been to produce round soft outlines by means of long, broad strokes, with a general plastic effect. Inscriptions become commoner, including signatures of artists as already mentioned, names of possessors, or, more rarely, such as are descriptive of the subject.

In point of style, gems of the fine period pass through three stages, beginning with those in which elements of stiffness are still visible (480-430 B.C.); next comes the period of largeness of style combined with perfect freedom (430-400); finally, the stage of perfect execution and technical ability, but the large style and pure ideal beauty of the preceding stage are mostly wanting (400-300 B.C.).

The subjects display a far greater variety of motive than in the archaic period, and typical conventional themes are replaced by freedom of conception and greater naturalism. As in sculpture, the more majestic gods disappear, and are replaced by those suggestive of love, beauty, and social prosperity, such as Aphrodite, Eros, and Nike. Again, there is a parallelism with the contemporary painted vases, in the general preference for subjects taken from daily life, especially representations of musicians, or scenes from the life of women. As examples may be cited three very lovely gems in the British Museum collection, which rank among the finest in existence, although their themes are comparatively trifling. One is a burnt carnelian with a youth playing on a triangular lyre, another a fragmentary sard with a girl reading from a scroll, and the third a sard representing a girl carrying a water-pitcher, like the *hydrophori* of the Parthenon frieze.[3]

[1] *Nubes*, 332.

[2] See for example *Brit. Mus. Inscrs.*, i. No. 29 (398 B.C.).

[3] See Plate XCI., No. 5; Plate XCII., Nos. 8, 10.

We thus observe a gradual divergence from the coin-types, which continue to represent deities for the most part.

We have seen that in the fifth and fourth centuries it is possible to establish a fairly satisfactory chronological sequence of Greek gems according to their style, and sometimes even to date them within ten years or so. But in the succeeding period of the Hellenistic Age this is not the case. From considerations of form, technique, style, or subject certain gems may be characterised as Hellenistic, but they cannot be assigned to any particular period within the 200 years of that epoch. There was, in short, an entire homogeneity of style prevailing throughout, which lasted on into the Graeco-Roman period, just as the school of sculpture at Rhodes prolonged its activities into the first century B.C. Our limits of date, then, may be set between the age of Alexander and the end of the second century. Further than this stage we need not pursue the subject, as to treat of the enormous number of gems of the Roman period which are in existence would not only cause this sketch to exceed its limits, but belong more properly to the subject of Roman than of Greek Art.

After the middle of the fourth century B.C. the practice came in in Greece of engraving intaglio designs on a thin slice of stone, which was easily adapted for mounting in a ring, and further implied that more was thought of the design than of the value of the stone, a point indeed which strikes us as true of the Greeks at all times. It was not until the increase of luxury and magnificence in all the appointments of life among the Romans of the Empire that the most prominent consideration was given (as in modern times) to the stone itself. The scaraboid form and the plain metal rings are no longer seen ; but, on the other hand, a convex surface is sometimes adopted for the face of the gem, as admitting of deeper cutting, and giving a more plastic effect.

The favourite stone of the period is a new one, the jacinth, which was an importation from India, dating from the time of Alexander, and was usually cut convex for the sake of the translucent effect. Beryl, topaz, and amethyst are also found, and all the stones in vogue in the last period retain their popularity, together with coloured pastes. The designs are often very shallow, with fine scratchy lines, and, generally speaking, exhibit a combination of extraordinary softness with careful rendering of details by means of fine tools, but without the success achieved by Dexamenos. In style there are no new

developments, but merely (as in contemporary sculpture) the carrying on of the traditions of the fourth century, often with exaggeration. Many of the designs, though careless and sketchy, are yet effective and even charming; many again repeat the easy attitudes and sensuous conceptions of Praxiteles, or the Scopaic tendency to pathos and emotion. At the same time there is a certain tendency to archaism, as in some of the types of deities, or at least to the reproduction of the ideal style of the fifth century.

The artists' signatures in this period are very numerous; on the other hand, there are no gems remaining from the hand of the only engraver who enjoyed literary fame, namely, Pyrgoteles, who, according to tradition, was the only one permitted to engrave the head of Alexander the Great. This privilege, it will be remembered, he enjoyed in common with Lysippos and Apelles. Among the subjects portraits now begin to play the most important rôle, from Alexander downwards, as they also do on the coins. This was of course mainly a result of the individualising tendencies of the age. The great conqueror, his features often much idealised, and Mithradates, the king of Pontus, were favourite subjects. Mythological subjects are mainly drawn from the Bacchic cycle, or the following of Aphrodite; Eros and Psyche, Artemis, the Egyptian Isis, and river-gods are among the most typical themes; but heroic subjects are extremely rare. Scenes from daily life assume a somewhat different and more idyllic character, including landscapes and pastoral subjects; and simple subjects, such as masks or symbols, are of frequent occurrence.

The most interesting feature of Hellenistic gem-engraving is the appearance of the cameo, at the beginning of the third century. Its prototype is probably to be looked for in the scarabs with designs carved in relief on the back, of which Ionia and Etruria furnish some examples. One of the earliest known was found in a tomb in the Crimea, with coins of Lysimachos (323-281 B.C.); its subject is Eros with a butterfly, an essentially Hellenistic type. The material always specially associated with the cameo was the sardonyx, with its layers of translucent brown and opaque white stone, which gave such opportunities of effective contrast between the design and its background. In later times the alternate layers were used with great ingenuity for contrasts of colour in the design itself, the brown being utilised for hair and white for flesh, or a chariot was engraved with four horses alternately brown and white, as on a cameo in the British Museum. But in the Hellenistic Age the brown was usually confined



ETRUSCAN GEMS

1-11. ARCHAIC. 12-24. MIDDLE PERIOD. 25-31. LATER PERIOD

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to the background; and further, the design was treated in higher relief, and with more plastic feeling, than in the Roman period.

Alexandria and Antioch appear to have been the chief centres of cameo-cutting, and one of the finest specimens in existence, representing heads of Alexander and Olympias, was made at the former place. Other fine cameos have heads of Alexander and Athena, and of the Macedonian king Perseus. Signed examples by the artists Athenion and Boetho are in existence. An altogether new departure in this direction was the employment of precious stones for other purposes than finger-rings, and thus we not only find earrings, diadems and other ornaments cut as cameos in various stones, but even vases contrived in this fashion. A famous instance is the Farnese cup at Naples, a remarkable example of Alexandrine work, the subjects on which are the *aegis* with head of Medusa, and an Egyptian landscape;[1] and no less fine is the cup of the Ptolemies in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, cut out of a single piece of sardonyx. The layers of stone in the latter are so manipulated as to give an extraordinarily rich effect of colour, the figures being in white and light brown on a dark brown background. The subject is a sort of 'Bacchic still-life,' or preparations for a Bacchic ceremony, including a table with drinking-cups, masks, and vine-wreaths. But the composition is somewhat crowded, and the experiment can hardly be considered altogether in good taste.

As in the description of Greek metal-work, in Chapter XIII., we shall see that the subject will be incomplete without introducing the consideration of Etruscan achievements in that line; so with the history of ancient gem-engraving. Consistently with their usual practice, the Etruscans began by borrowing all that they could from Greece, and developed their acquired knowledge into an independent art. Hence the rise of the native art is comparatively of late date, and at first the only gems found in Etruria are of foreign origin, Greek or Phoenician. The earliest examples belong to the end of the sixth century B.C., being found with early red-figured vases, and represent the stage reached by Greek art in the latter half of that century. The new industry was taken up with great vigour and avidity, but never succeeded in rivalling the Greek work in style or execution, in spite of the excellence of their technical skill.

The scarab-form was fixed for the Etruscan gem-engravers by the

[1] Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pls. 54-55.

fact that it was the only one with which they were familiar from importations, Greek or Phoenician. When once adopted, therefore, it was rigidly adhered to in their characteristic mechanical fashion. After about 480 B.C. no more Greek scarabs are found in Etruria, and consequently also no scaraboids, and thus we see that all subsequent work is a purely native independent development. In one point they outdid the Greeks, namely in the attention which they devoted to the execution of the scarab itself, even when the intaglio design was careless. The Greeks only cared about the latter, but to the Etruscans the scarab was an artistic and ornamental form.

The usual material for the scarabs is carnelian, but sardonyx and striped agate are also found. The designs are always on as large a scale as possible, and display a fondness for figures which have to be distorted to fit into a space. Some of the older and better specimens are characterised by great refinement and minuteness of detail, and as a rule the technical standard is very high. In the style and proportions of the figures the influence of Greek models is very apparent. A great feature of Etruscan scarabs is that they are often supplied with inscriptions explanatory of the subjects, *i.e.* names of Greek heroes in Etruscan forms as on the engraved bronze mirrors.[1] On the other hand artists' signatures and names of possessors are unknown. Another characteristic feature by which they may be recognised is an ornamental border of small circles or hatched lines encircling the design.

The subjects are mainly taken from legends of the Greek heroes, and deities are rarely portrayed. The types of the latter are always Greek, even the winged deities of which the Etruscans were so fond being originally borrowed from Ionian art. The favourite heroes are Achilles and Peleus, Odysseus and Ajax, Kapaneus, and Tydeus and others from the Theban legends. Herakles only becomes popular on the later scarabs. There are instances of a representation of Prometheus which is evidently borrowed from Aeschylus, and of a Laocoon subject derived from the same source from which Virgil drew his famous description.[2] Greek art, religion, and culture, are everywhere dominant, and the element of Etruscan native mythology is conspicuously absent.

Several stages of development may be observed in the Etruscan scarabs, extending from the end of the sixth century down to the

[1] Many of these are false, having been added in the eighteenth century.

[2] In the British Museum. See Plate XCIII., No. 31.

end of the fourth, or perhaps even later. The earliest examples, belonging to the sixth century,[1] usually have single figures or groups in stiff archaic attitudes; draped figures of deities, often winged, recall the earlier types of Etruscan bronze mirrors. The next stage, which approximates most closely to the Greek work, reproduces the style of the period of the Persian wars, as exemplified in the Aegina pediments and the vases of Euphronios. The subjects are mainly heroic figures, and the attitudes are no longer straight and stiff, but the figures can turn and bend in all directions. The human form is treated in the dry sinewy manner we have noted in the Aegina sculptures, and throughout there is a close dependence on Greek art. On the other hand there are scarabs which must belong to this period, yet exhibit full soft forms, even becoming careless and degenerate.

The next group shows the full influence of the free Greek style of 450-400 B.C.[2] The subjects are mostly single youthful figures, bending so as to fit into the oval space, yet natural and free from stiffness or hardness in anatomical detail. There is a good specimen in the British Museum with the subject of Herakles and the Nemean lion, which compares very favourably with a similar type on a Greek coin of Herakleia in Lucania, dating about 420 B.C. Comparisons may also be made with the engraved bronze work of the period. Finally there is a group of scarabs which are dependent for their prototypes on Greek art of the fourth century, thus completing the normal development of the Etruscan scarab. Female figures become commoner, and there is an absence of any restraint, or of any attempt to fill in the whole space of the design. The fourth-century Etruscan mirrors with women bathing or at their toilet present corresponding artistic features.

In the fourth century, however, there is an entirely new and independent development, in the large and numerous class of drilled scarabs, so called because the work is done almost entirely by means of the drill, which produces shallow saucer-shaped depressions in the stone. The designs are rude, sketchy, and altogether unpleasing, and it is obvious that figures produced in this way, *i.e.* made up of small circular markings, could not have any great artistic merit. The favourite subjects are Herakles and Seilenos; deities such as Apollo, Artemis, and Leto, and monsters such as Pegasos, the Chimaera, and Centaurs, are also very common. From daily life we have frequent representations of chariots, athletes, combats, and hunting-scenes.

[1] See Plate XCIII., Nos. 1-11.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 12-24.

ETRUSCAN SCARABS

These gems are found with the latest and most degenerate Etruscan bronze-work and pottery, and do not rise above them in merit; but sometimes archaising specimens occur, in which the drill-marks are combined with finely-cut lines.[1]

The subsequent development of Italian gem-engraving comes, like that of Greek, under the category of Roman Art.

Incidental allusions have been made throughout the preceding pages to technical details in connection with ancient gems, but it may serve to render these more intelligible if they are supplemented by a brief general summary of the various methods employed.

The tools used by ancient gem-engravers were three in number, the drill, the wheel, and the diamond point. The stone was fixed for working in a bed of cement, the tools being freely worked with the hand, which is the exact reverse of the usual modern practice. The drill was manipulated by means of a small bow, the string of which was wound round its stem, as we may actually see depicted on a scarab of the fifth century in the British Museum; it had a bronze tip, and the actual cutting was done with emery-powder mixed with oil, known as *corundum*. In the archaic gems, as in the Etruscan scarabs just described, the use of the drill is very conspicuous, especially in the series of close-set holes which reproduce the short curly hair of a man. This method of treating the hair was imitated by the vase-painters of the best period, who use close-set raised dots of a thick black pigment for the purpose.

The use of the wheel is especially conspicuous in the 'island-stones';[2] it was a small bronze disc set on a shaft of metal and worked like the drill with a bow and tube, and emery-powder; its purpose was for cutting lines to connect the points made by the drill or else for broad sunk surfaces. The diamond-point on the other hand was used like a pencil, with the hand alone; it resembled the modern glass-cutter's diamond, and was employed for giving an artistic finish to the design, which could of course be best done with the free hand. The use of this tool required great technical skill, the results of which may be clearly seen on two of the best gems in the British Museum collection, the girl with the pitcher noticed on p. 213, and a fine fifth-century head of Zeus.[3] In the former the diamond-point has been employed to touch up the graceful falling folds of the drapery; in the

[1] See Plate XCIII., Nos. 25-31.

[2] See Plate LXXXIX., especially Nos. 28-31.

[3] Plate XCI., No. 21.

latter it has brought out with the most delicate finish the lines of the hair on the head.

Gem-engraving is almost the only branch of art in which the excellence of ancient work is seriously challenged by modern rivals. There is moreover no harder task for the archaeological expert or connoisseur to solve than to decide on the antiquity or modernity of a particular gem; and yet there is no question which confronts him oftener than this. The minuteness of the work militates against the training of the eye which is of so much assistance elsewhere, and the imperishableness of the material deprives the investigator of yet another auxiliary, the condition of surface. But it would not be right to leave this subject without attempting to consider what criteria, if any, will best assist our judgment.

M. Tyszkiewicz considered that the capacity for judging gems *nascitur non fit*,[1] and instances the famous collector Alessandro Castellani, who with all his taste and experience in matters of art was yet constantly imposed upon by vendors of worthless gems. He has also pointed out that only constant handling and study of objects can give experience; engravings and reproductions are untrustworthy and in fact spoil the eye. Of late years amateurs have become so mistrustful that the forgers no longer find it worth their while to manufacture gems, but the difficulty still exists to be guarded against. The chief points to be considered are subject, style, material, and form, and above all technical details, such as polish.

Mr. C. W. King, who for so long was regarded as the chief English authority on the subject,[2] concurs in M. Tyszkiewicz's opinions, but has laid down some general rules to be observed, which it may be of interest to recapitulate. In the first place, inasmuch as all ancient intaglios were made to be worn in rings as signets, any exceeding the size of an ordinary ring-stone must be suspected. Such were frequently made in the Cinque-cento and Renaissance period, but the best work of the ancient engravers tended to minuteness rather than largeness of scale. Groups of figures and historical subjects as distinguished from mythological are also characteristic of that period, and in fact Cinque-cento gems may be easily recognised by their marked style and absence of technical cleverness. The filling in of space and absence of margin is a characteristic of ancient gems which the modern artist usually

[1] *Revue Archéol.*, xxvii. (1895), p. 281.

[2] See his *Antique Gems and Rings* (1872), i. p. 18 ff.

ignores, and, generally speaking, the latter's work is pictorial, whereas the former are sculpturesque, with simple restrained compositions and designs in one plane like sculpture in relief.

Ancient stones are often of irregular form at the back, retaining their original configuration with only a margin rounded off for the setting, the idea being to augment the depth of the colour in the finished gem. Again, deep parallel scratches are often to be seen on the back, caused by the use of emery polish, whereas the modern process gives a perfectly smooth surface; but the modern forger discovered a way to produce even this, by cramming newly-made gems down a turkey's throat, in order that the trituration of the gizzard might give the necessary abraded surface! This was the case with many of the gems in the famous Poniatowsky collection. A highly-polished surface is always suspicious, and the truest test is a slight degree of dulness resembling that produced by breathing on a bright surface. This time alone can achieve, and though easily recognised it cannot be imitated. Another difficulty which arises is that antique stones may have been cut or recut in modern times, and this is most difficult to detect, but with a powerful lens the effects of the subsequent reworking often become visible. Moreover the use of the diamond-point for lines and the drill for the deeper parts, which forms one of the chief distinctions between ancient and modern gems, should always be one of the principal guides for the connoisseur.

CHAPTER XII

GREEK COINS

Use of study of Greek coins—Artistic features—Invention of coinage—Technical processes—Inscriptions—Coin-types and their meaning—Character of coins of different countries—Italy and Sicily—Greece and Asia Minor—Chronological classification and artistic development.

TO do justice to the history of Greek coins even from one point of view, that of their artistic side, is well-nigh impossible in a brief space. All that can be done to justify the attempt is to trace the outline of their artistic development, touching on a few points of special interest. For Greek coins are in many respects the most fascinating branch of ancient art, their interest being so many-sided: historical, mythological, and aesthetic; and moreover, from the greater facilities for their acquirement, they appeal more than most antiquities to the ordinary amateur.

Greek coins have been described as forming the grammar of Greek art,[1] and this saying is justified by the fact that in them we have a complete and exhaustive series of ancient monuments, absolutely free from restoration or other defects, small in size yet large in treatment, and ranging over the whole period of Greek civilisation from early archaism down to its absorption in the flood of Roman dominion. Their small size is not indeed an advantage in all respects. It would have been contrary to all canons of Greek taste and feeling for form to crowd a composition by introducing more than one or two figures into so confined a space, or to admit any complicated subject, and this of course entails a narrow range of themes and little scope for varied composition. Moreover it must be remembered that coins were not primarily works of art, like vases or gems. To the Greek they merely served a utilitarian, *i.e.* commercial, purpose, and if in making a coin he produced a thing of beauty, this was, so to speak, accidental, due to his instinctive capacity for giving a beautiful form to any object he

[1] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. lix.

produced. Thus it should excite no surprise that we often find the most beautiful examples of Greek coinage not in important cities like Athens or Argos, but in out-of-the-way towns whose single claim to renown is that they have thus enriched our knowledge of Greek art, such as Terina in Southern Italy, Sybrita in Crete, or Clazomenae in Asia Minor. Did we possess all the other remains of Greek art in complete preservation we should probably ignore the coins altogether; but as things are, our heritage of ancient sculpture is exceedingly fragmentary, that of painting still more so, whereas of Greek coins we have a completer knowledge than any individual ancient could have possessed.

The trifling disadvantages then which meet the student of Greek numismatics are more than outweighed by the many advantages afforded by this branch of art. In the first place, as compared with sculpture, coins are one and all genuine originals, not copies; they are free from restorations; and they are largely the work of actual masters of the art, though there are cases in which they may have been deputed to workmen or pupils like some of the Greek temple sculptures. Secondly, there is no question of unreality in their style or of the affected archaism which frequently puzzles the student of vases or terra-cottas, or indeed of sculpture; at least in regard to the latter, its occurrence can always be checked by external features of fabric or otherwise. Hence the canons of style (when once laid down) will always apply for the dating of any given coin. Thirdly, Greek coins have an *official* character which ensures careful choice of types and an absence of caprice or instability in their use. It also of course tended to limit the choice of subjects, heroic legend, for instance, being largely excluded except in the Roman period, but the loss in this way is not great, and there is a gain in other ways, the religious character of many coin-types facilitating allusion to cults and deities of whom we should otherwise know little, such as river-gods and water-nymphs. And fourthly, they are of inestimable value as original documents for historical purposes, a series of coins of any particular city forming as it were a commentary on its history, besides supplying evidence of historical facts, where literary sources have failed us.

There is, besides, no branch of ancient monuments which lends itself more satisfactorily to scientific classification. It has been said that the main object of any exact and reasoned study of archaeology is to determine the place which gave birth to each of the works of art which successively come up for judgment, as well as the time at which

that birth took place.[1] It is not too much to say that these two questions can be answered with certainty and accuracy with regard to almost any coin; it is far from being so with most works of art. The date of a coin is most satisfactorily determined by any historical indications which it may afford; next by reference to standards of weight; next by considerations of fabric and technique; further, by means of its inscription; and not infrequently by the circumstances of its discovery, as, for instance, if it is found in a hoard along with others of more certain date.

The attractiveness of Greek coins to the artistic eye has been well explained by Ruskin in a familiar passage.[2] 'Sculpture,' he says, 'is essentially the production of a pleasant bossiness or roundness of surface.' And if we give to the term 'sculpture' the widened meaning which he gave, and which is etymologically permissible in speaking of coins, we shall see how truly they illustrate this principle. 'If,' he continues, 'you look from some distance at these two engravings of Greek coins . . . you will find the relief on each of them simplifies itself into a pearl-like portion of a sphere, with exquisitely gradated light on its surface. When you look at them nearer, you will see that each smaller portion into which they are divided—cheek, or brow, or leaf, or tress of hair—resolves itself also into a rounded or undulating surface, pleasant by gradation of light. Every several surface is delightful in itself, as a shell, or a tuft of rounded moss, or the bossy masses of distant forest would be. That these intricately modulated masses present some resemblance to a girl's face, such as the Syracusans imagined that of the water-goddess Arethusa' (it is of a Syracusan tetradrachm that he is speaking), 'is entirely a secondary matter; the primary condition is that the masses shall be beautifully rounded, and disposed with due discretion and order.'

It is this effect of rounded surfaces, with their play of light and shade, which produces the aesthetic satisfaction felt in examining an ancient coin. How different from the effect of modern productions! Like a wood-cut of a landscape or artistic object as compared with a photographic reproduction, the modern coin is, so to speak, only a group of lines, while the ancient exhibits massed surfaces with effects of light and shade.[3]

[1] P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 59.

[2] *Aratra Pentelici*, p. 23 (1872 ed.), and see also pp. 77 ff., 130 ff.

[3] In this respect it is only right to point out that some more recent issues of English coins (*e.g.* the 1893 half-crowns) have shown an improvement, as compared, for instance, with the Jubilee coinage of 1887.

AESTHETIC ASPECT OF GREEK COINS

Greek coins are, as Sir Charles Newton has said, 'among the most exquisite productions of ancient art; they are finished with a delicacy happily described by Pliny as *argutiae operum in minimis quoque rebus custoditae*,' a delicacy of workmanship adhered to even in the smallest details. In them 'the Greek artist contrived to obtain grandeur and breadth of effect, even when his design was on the most limited scale,' nor must we overlook the ingenuity with which he overcame the limited space at his disposal by his choice and arrangement of figures, never leaving awkward spaces or crowding his compositions. They are also instructive as a study in the treatment of relief, which in their case is something midway between high and low relief, or *mezzo rilievo*, combining the merits of both and avoiding their defects. If the relief had been stronger they would not have served their purpose as convenient media of exchange, but would have become too rotund and cumbrous; if it had been lower, friction would soon have worn away the designs, as is the case with modern silver coins. The intaglio designs on the reverses of some of the early coins of Magna Graecia may represent an attempt at minimising the latter danger; but it was soon found that a more satisfactory result was obtained by raising the less important parts; and thus in many cases the strong projection of a head has preserved the features intact while the hair, which gave less artistic scope, has alone suffered injury.

The coins, then, claim our interest not only for the variety of their designs but as works of art; and it will be the object of the following pages—after some remarks on their technical and historical interest—to enter in some detail upon a consideration of these two points.

The invention of coinage was attributed to various nations, but the evidence is greatly in favour of the Lydians, although some have connected it with Aegina. Literary evidence tends to show that Pheidon of Argos (whose date is not certain) first established a standard of *measures* for the use of the Aeginetans, but there was an older tradition, supported by Herodotus, that the Lydians were the first who, in his words, 'made use of a coinage which they cut in gold and silver, and they were the first traders.' This tradition appears to reach as far back as the sixth century. It is most likely, having regard to the abundance of electrum to be found in Asia Minor, that the Lydians were the first to strike coins in this material, in the seventh century B.C., and that contemporaneously a silver coinage was started in Aegina. The earliest coins of the latter state of which

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ARCHAIC COINS (600-480 B.C.): ITALY AND SICILY

1. POSEIDONIA. 2. METAPONTUM. 3. KROTON. 4. KAULONIA. 5. TARENTUM. 6. TERINA. 7. THURIUM. 8. GELA. 9. SELINUS. 10. KATANA. 11. SYRACUSE

EARLY COINS

Ancient coins were produced by two processes — casting and striking; but the former is almost entirely confined to early Italian coins, and to some few late Greek examples. In describing the processes, therefore, by which coins were made, we may confine ourselves almost entirely to the methods of striking. These, it will be seen, differed but little from the usages of the present day. The ordinary process was to cast the metal in round blank pieces of the requisite shape and weight. The blank was then laid on the anvil, into which was sunk the lower die (or obverse), and was hammered from above with a bar, on the end of which was placed the upper die (or reverse). The weight of the hammer was sufficient to effect an impression on both sides of the metal. The dies, which, of course, were engraved like gems in intaglio, were produced by a similar process, namely, with a wheel, supplemented by a graving-tool which smoothed away the circular sinkings produced by the former instrument. Being made of soft metal, they were naturally not very lasting, and hence it is rare to find two coins from the same die, a fact to which is due the remarkable variety of design in ancient coins.

It was not until the sixth century that coins were stamped on both sides; previously the incuse square was thought sufficient for the reverse, sometimes varied by diagonal as well as diametrical cutting, which produced a pattern known as the 'mill-sail.' There are, however, exceptions to this practice, chiefly found in Southern Italy. Here the system was adopted at an early period of reproducing the obverse design on the reverse, but in intaglio or incuse form; this was, of course, done by cutting it in relief on the punch. It has been supposed that the object of this process was to enable the coins to be packed in a pile, which would obviously be impossible where both sides were in relief; but there are objections to this view. Or, again, there may have been an idea of conceiving the coin (by an artistic convention) as transparent, showing the design of one side through to the other.[1] Thus, on the early coins of Poseidonia the figure of Poseidon appears on one side to the right in relief, on the other, to the left, incised.[2]

The earliest coins are very thick, and almost lentoid or bean-shaped, and little effort was made to ensure accuracy in the form of the coin or the position of the design, but a change soon becomes noticeable, and by the fourth century—when also the relief tends to become much lower

[1] See Hill, *Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 152; also *id.*, *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 23.

[2] Plate xcv., No. 1.

—the type is placed almost exactly in the centre of the metal. But in most Greek coins these indications of negligence contrast curiously with the prim regularity of modern specimens. When the coin was cast, a model was prepared from which moulds were made, and it was cast just like a bronze object. Specimens of coin-moulds in clay are in existence, but belong to the period of the Roman Empire.

The coin-dies were not always engraved by inferior artists. In Magna Graecia and Sicily, on some of the very finest coins, the artist's name appears, which could not have been the case if he had been an ordinary craftsman. The magnificent Syracusan decadrachms and tetradrachms, the most popular, if not really the most beautiful, of all ancient coins, with the head of Persephone wreathed with corn on one side and the victorious chariot on the other, bear the names of Euainetos, Kimon, and other artists.[1] And that these were artists of renown is shown by the fact that their names appear on the coins of neighbouring cities. Euainetos engraved coins for Kamarina and Katana, and there is a doubtful instance of a Sicilian artist on a coin of Elis in the Peloponnese. On the coins of Greece there are few instances of artists' names, but there is a very fine tetradrachm of Clazomenae in Asia Minor, with a head of Apollo, which is signed by Theodotos; and a fine coin of Kydonia, in Crete, is signed by Neuantos.[2]

Other inscriptions of various kinds are found on coins of different periods and states, but to a much greater extent in Roman times than at a previous epoch. The most prevalent form of inscription is that which may be said to set the mark of official authority on the coin, that is, the name of the people or person by whom it was issued. This usually appears in the genitive case as Ἀκράγαντος, 'of Akragas,' Συρακοσίων, 'of the Syracusans,' after which we understand some such word as νόμισμα, 'coinage.' Usually, however, the name is more or less abbreviated, as ϙ on the coins of Corinth,[3] ΓΟΜ on those of Poseidonia. Two unique forms of inscription are the much-discussed Φάνος ἐμὶ σῆμα on an early electrum stater from Asia Minor (usually, but impossibly, interpreted, 'I am the sign, or token, of Phanes'),[4] and the Cretan formula Γόρτυνος, or Φαιστίων, τὸ παῖμα, found in the fifth century, where παῖμα means 'something struck,' and so 'coin.' In the third

[1] See Hill, *Coins of Sicily*, p. 97 ff.; A. Evans in *Numism. Chron.*, 3rd ser. ii. (1891), p. 205 ff.; and Plate XCVII., Nos. 8-10.

[2] See Plate XCIX., No. 3.

[3] The ϙ, or koppa, here represents the K of other Greek dialects; similarly the M of ΓΟΜ is the *San* or Corinthian form of Σ.

[4] Plate XCIV., No. 4.

century B.C., when kings began to issue coinage of a more personal character, their names frequently appear, and this custom was almost invariable in Roman imperial times, both on Roman and Greek coins. Certain cities made use of special titles on their coins, of which the best instance is the use of νεώκορος at Ephesus in later times. We are familiar with this term from its use in the Acts of the Apostles in connection with St. Paul's experiences in that city.[1]

There is also a class of inscriptions which have a special archaeological importance as naming or explaining the type. These may be either names of persons and personifications, or of things. Deified kings or emperors are styled Θεῶν, 'gods,' as Ptolemy Soter and Berenice on the coins of Ptolemy Philadelphos. Homer's name occurs on coins of several cities in Asia Minor, and Alcaeus and Sappho on those of Mytilene. Names of deities, or appropriate epithets, are often of special importance to the student of mythology as throwing light on particular cults, as in the case of Zeus Eleutherios on coins of Syracuse, or Persephone Soteira ('Saviour') on those of Cyzicus. River-gods and other personifications are frequently named, one of the most interesting instances being the Νίκα (Victory) on early fifth-century coins of Terina. The special significance of this lies in the fact that the cult of a distinct goddess of Victory can hardly be traced at an earlier date. With the Romans, however, the practice of personification almost reached to a pitch of absurdity, as in Annona (Market Prices) and Hilaritas (Mirth).

Inscriptions which have reference to the occasion on which a coin was issued are rare before Roman times, but a remarkable instance is the ἆθλα, 'games,' found on the tetradrachms of Kimon and Euainetos at Syracuse. Names of boats occur on the third-century coins of Corcyra, and apparently refer to victories won in races of galleys. It is exceedingly rare to find on Greek coins any indication of their denomination, although this was sometimes expressed in another way. Thus on the coins of Athens an ingenious variation of the type enables us to distinguish the different multiples of the obol, the four-obol piece having two owls on the reverse, the three-obol one owl to the front, the two-obol two owls with one head, and so on. Again, among the coins of Syracuse the drachma has a single horseman, the double drachma a rider leading a single horse, and the tetradrachm a four-horse chariot. Other cities indicate the drachma by a whole animal, the half-drachma by the fore-part of one only.

[1] xix. 35, where the A. V. rendering is 'worshippers.' The literal rendering is 'temple-weepers.'

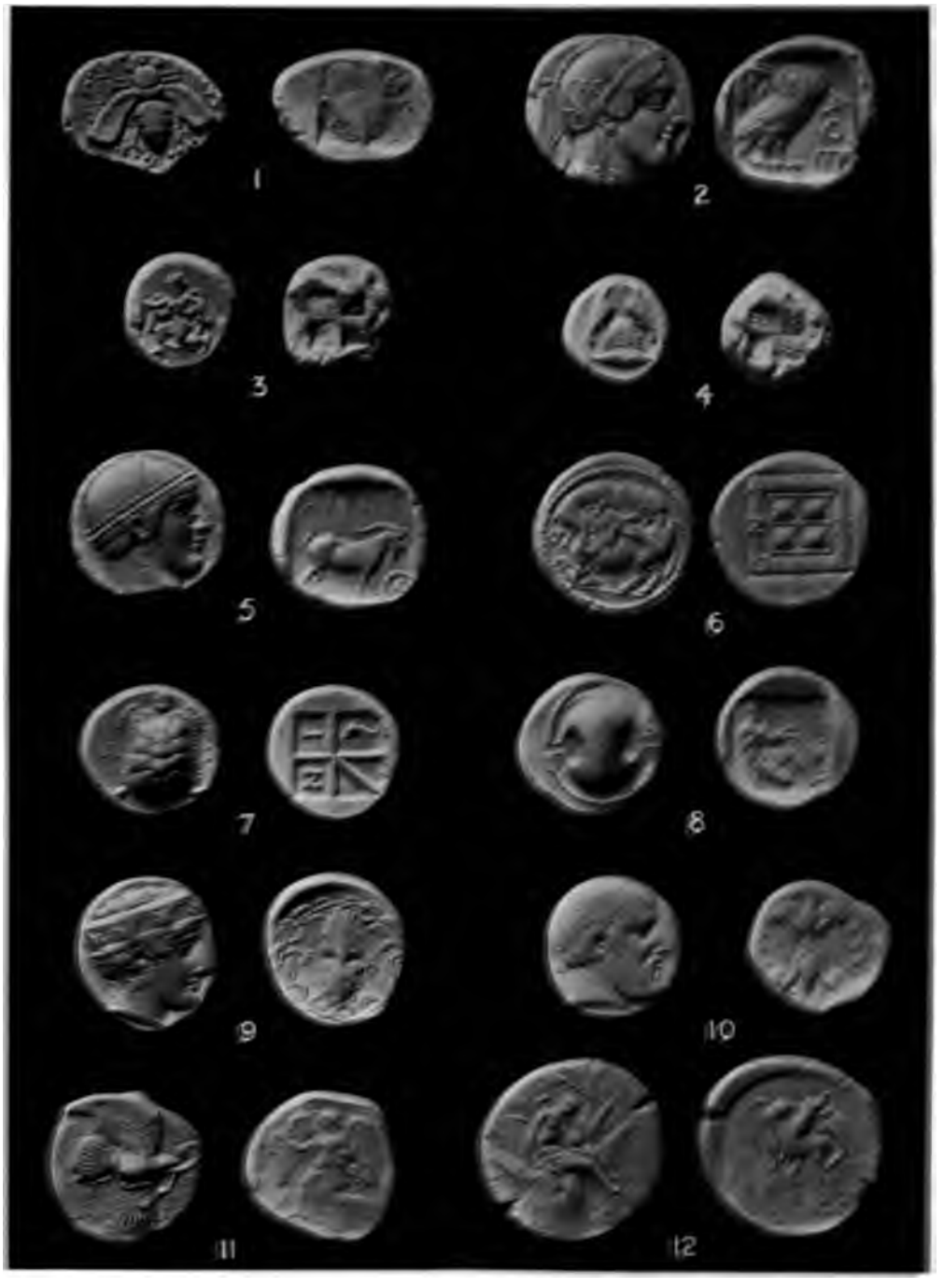
It is hardly necessary to say that the inscriptions on coins afford extremely valuable evidence for dating particular specimens or determining the succession of a series. They are not, of course, the only criterion available for this purpose; as already noted, style, weight, and subject all contribute their quota of evidence, and in many cases are sufficient assistance to the numismatist without the aid of inscriptions; but the usefulness of the latter is twofold, depending partly on the historical information they afford, partly on their palaeographical character. To the former class of evidence belong all personal names and other historical data, such as the name *Aetnaei*, which occurs on a unique Sicilian coin (see p. 237), and enables us to attribute it to the period B.C. 476-461, during which the name of Aetna was borne by the town of Katana.

The palaeographical evidence of coin-inscriptions is chiefly of value for the earlier periods of Greek coinage, when every state had its own peculiar alphabet, passing independently through a series of changes; after the fifth century the adoption of the Ionic alphabet became practically universal, and such changes as took place were rather in the general character of the lettering than in the forms of particular letters. To take a few instances: at Byzantium a peculiar form of the letter B is found down to 277 B.C., but not afterwards; C for Γ is found in Sicily down to 440 B.C.; E is regularly found in the West for H down to about 425 B.C.[1]

The types on Greek coins form the most important part of our subject, from their many-sided interest, whether regarded from the point of view of art, or from that of mythology or history. The gradual development which may be observed in their composition will be noted subsequently in dealing with the different artistic stages through which Greek coinage passed; meanwhile some attention must be devoted to a general consideration of their significance, and of the different categories into which they fall.

This subject has given rise to much discussion in recent years, turning upon the question whether the origin and significance of the types are to be sought in a religious or a commercial idea. The writings of some scholars betoken a more or less rigid adherence to one or the other theory, but probably, as is so frequently the case, the truth lies between the two extremes, or rather, both theories contain a measure of truth. A comparison with what we observe in other branches of

[1] Fuller details will be found in Hill's *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, p. 209 ff.



COINS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C. ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

1. EPHESUS. 2. ATHENS. 3-4. CYZICUS. 5. ABDERA. 6. ACANTHOS. 7. AEGINA. 8. THEBES. 9-10. ITALY. 11-12. SYRACUSE



COINS OF SICILY: FIFTH CENTURY

1, 3. AGRIGENTUM. 2. KAMARINA. 4. KATANA. 5. LEONTINI. 6. NAXOS. 7-10. SYRACUSE

Greek art will incline us to the view that (apart from the purely utilitarian purpose to which coins were of necessity put), the instinct of the early Greek peoples for devoting their artistic faculties exclusively to religious ends might be expected to act similarly in regard to coins. And thus, though the coin was merely a secular object, a token issued by a civil authority for commercial use, the religious sense of the Greeks led them to consecrate the coins and their uses by placing them under the protection of the special deity of the city. It has even been suggested that originally they were actually struck in temples and issued by the priests, the types being subsequently preserved when the civic authorities took over the rights of coinage. On the other hand many types appear at first sight purely secular, such as the tunny-fish which we find at Cyzicus, the ears of corn which are seen on the coins of Metapontum, or the silphium on those of Cyrene.[1] Doubtless these types came subsequently to possess a commercial signification, like the designs on the postage-stamps of some modern states, but it can hardly be questioned that in their origin all such types were religious, and that they stand, by an unconscious or intentional symbolism, for the god with whom the inhabitants associated their industries. Such we may well believe to have been the case with types like the wine-cup on the coins of Naxos, an island associated with the cult of Dionysos, and also a great wine-producing centre. It was entirely in accordance with the spirit of Greek art to use symbolism of this kind for their deities, without any inner meaning such as mediaeval or modern symbolism connotes, but merely as a kind of artistic 'short-hand,' or as the Egyptians used their hieroglyphs.

In discussing the various classes into which the types fall, we may first touch upon those that are obviously purely religious: figures or symbols of deities, mythological subjects, or personifications such as river-gods or water-nymphs. Of this class are the coins of Athens, which bear on the one side the head of Athena, on the other her symbols, the owl and olive-branch; variations from this type occur in later times, as when, in the second century B.C., an amphora is introduced under the owl, probably an oil-amphora containing oil from her sacred olive; or again when (in Roman imperial times) a miniature representation of the Acropolis with the Parthenon and other erections appears on the reverse.[2] The coins of Corinth bear almost invariably a figure of Pegasos on the obverse, with reference to the story of

[1] See Plate XCV., No. 2; Plate XCIX., No. 12.
[2] See Plate XCVI., No. 2; Plate CI., Nos. 6, 9.

Bellerophon, who was a local hero, while the reverse usually has a head of Athena, of a different type from that which is seen on the coins of Athens.[1] Those of the city of Rhodes (founded in 408 B.C.) have on the obverse the head of the Sun-God Helios, its tutelary deity, whose statue was subsequently set up in the harbour (see above, p. 132).[2] Several of the Sicilian coin-types, such as those of Kamarina, come under this category; at this place we see an extremely beautiful figure of a water-nymph personifying the city; at Gela a man-headed bull signifies the river god Gelas.[3] The coin-types of Kroton in Magna Graecia have been observed to have reference to the religious ideas of Pythagoras, for whose teaching that city was the great centre;[4] they include a tripod, which almost invariably occurs on obverse or reverse, an eagle, figures of Herakles, and heads of Apollo and of the local goddess Hera Lakinia. The beautiful coins of Terina in the same region bear on the obverse the head of a nymph personifying the place, on the reverse a figure of Victory.[5]

Other types again represent the issuing authority, like the later Greek coins with portrait-heads of the kings of Macedon and their successors;[6] or local activities, these falling under the head of what are known as *agonistic* types.[7] The latter at first sight seem to be an exception to the rule of religious types, and this is indeed probably the case; but inasmuch as all Greek games partook of a religious nature, the representation of a victorious athlete or chariot might have been symbolical of the god in whose honour the games were celebrated. The most noteworthy examples of agonistic types are the fine series of later Tarentine coins (400-330 B.C.) and the magnificent Syracusan coins of all periods. In the former a horseman is usually represented, or a man or boy crowning a victorious horse, or himself crowned by Victory. At Syracuse the chariot is found even on the earliest (sixth century) coins, at first at rest or moving slowly, afterwards galloping at full speed, with Victory hovering above, holding a wreath.[8] The horses on the coins of Thessaly are similarly emblematic of local activities.

Others again allude to local characteristics, such as the silphium (asafoetida) of Cyrene, the corn of Metapontum, the wild celery of Selinus, or the wine-cup of Naxos.[9] It has already been pointed out

[1] Plate XCVIII., No. 8.
[2] Plates XCVIII., No. 1; C. No. 9.
[3] Plates XCV., No. 8; XCVII., No. 2.
[4] See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 84.
[5] Plates XCV., No. 6; XCIX., No. 6.
[6] Plates XCVIII., No. 7; C., Nos. 1 ff.
[7] On agonistic types, see generally Newton, *Essays on Art*, p. 420.
[8] See Plate XCVII., Nos. 7-10.
[9] Plates XCV., Nos. 2, 9; XCVII., No. 6; XCIX., No. 12.

that a *purely* commercial significance cannot be claimed for such types, inasmuch as, for instance, the ear of corn may well stand for Demeter, the wine-cup for Dionysos, and so on. Some types (known as *types parlants*) suggest modern canting heraldry, being puns on the names of places. Thus at Phocaea we find a seal (*φώκη*), at Rhodes a rose (*ρόδον*), at Melos an apple (*μῆλον*), and the celery (*σέλινον*) of Selinus comes under the same category. Here again it is inconceivable that a Greek deliberately selected a badge as the modern *parvenu* selects his crest or coat-of-arms, and the adoption of such appropriate devices was rather due to a kind of natural selection, or to the fact that the device had an older association with the locality than even its name. Lastly there are the historical or quasi-historical subjects, such as Taras, the founder of Tarentum, who appears on the coins of that city riding on a dolphin, or the coins of Demetrius Poliorketes, with Victory on a prow blowing a trumpet, in reference to his naval victory (see p. 135).[1]

We do not as a rule find works of art reproduced in coin-types of a good period, though attempts to imitate famous statues might have been expected. Even the head of Zeus on the beautiful coins of Elis[2] is not certainly influenced by the statue by Pheidias. But the Greek artist could never be a slavish copyist, and to his capacity for infinite variety was also added an instinctive feeling that sculptures on a large scale were ill adapted for coin-types. At a later date this was not the case, and when we come to the Greek Imperial coins, struck under the Roman Emperors, we find reproductions of old cult-statues and other works of art by no means uncommon. Thus the Ephesian Artemis appears on coins of Ephesus, the Praxitelean Aphrodite on those of Knidos, while the coins of Elis struck in the time of Hadrian bear a fairly close reproduction of the famous Zeus of Pheidias.[3] These late coins, though very unattractive in appearance, are often most useful for throwing light on earlier coins or on religious festivals and ceremonies, as well as for the hints which they give as to the appearance of lost works of art.

It may be of interest to add here a few notes on the general character of the coins of different regions; and it may further serve a useful purpose in each case to take examples from the successive coinages of particular states or cities, a method by means of which the choice of coin-types may be further illustrated and explained.

[1] Plates XCV., No. 5; C., No. 3.

[2] Plate XCVI., Nos. 9-11.

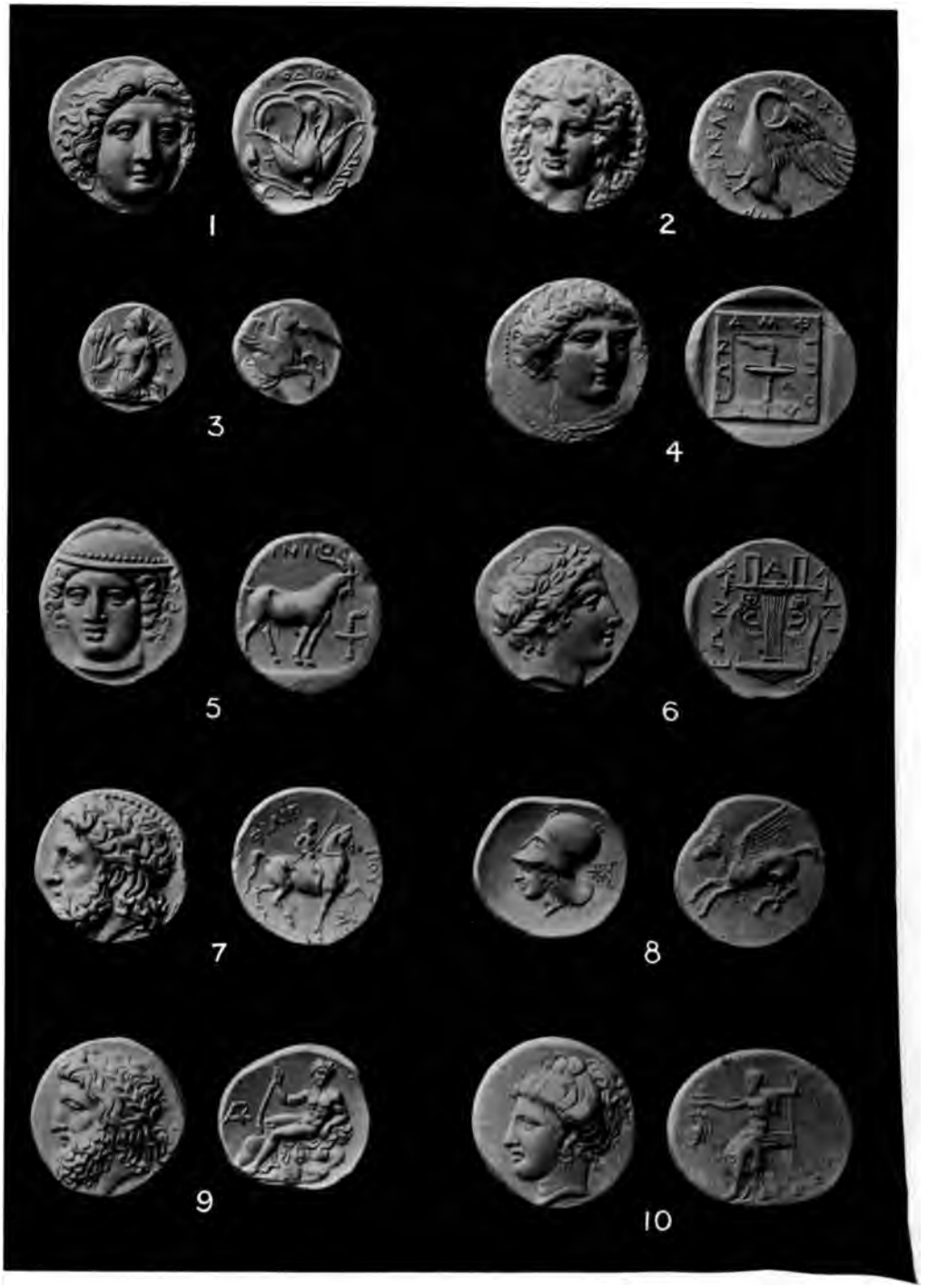
[3] Plate CI., No. 13.

Observing the geographical order usually adopted by writers on the subject, we begin with Italy, or rather with Magna Graecia, the great Greek colonies in the south of the Peninsula, with which so many of the most beautiful series of coins are associated. One important difference between the Greek coinages of the western and the eastern Mediterranean is that the former mostly cover a shorter period of history, beginning later, and brought to an earlier close by the successive conquests of Carthaginians and Romans. They are therefore more generally useful as illustrating the earlier and best periods of Greek art. And further, owing to the rapid development of these Greek colonies, they show in many respects an artistic advance on the contemporary coins of the East. Thus, while Asiatic Greeks were still using mere lumps of metal roughly stamped, and for a long time were content with only the incuse square on the reverses of their coins, in the west the double types prevailed with one or two exceptions from the first; tentatively, it is true, for, as we have seen (p. 227), the sixth-century coins have on their reverses only an incuse version of the obverse types; but by the beginning of the fifth century reverse types in relief were firmly established. In many of the towns we find it the practice to honour the special local deity, and therefore Poseidon appears at Poseidonia, Apollo at Kaulonia, Hera Lakinia at Kroton, and the local hero Taras at Tarentum. Sometimes the types of two cities are combined on one coin, betokening an alliance.

Among particular cities Tarentum was the most important—it is the only one with any extensive gold currency—and its coinage is certainly one of the most interesting.[1] From 530 to 500 the types are Taras on a dolphin or a figure of Apollo, the reverse having as yet only the incuse square. During the fifth century the Taras type is almost paramount, sometimes varied by a cockleshell; on the obverse, the types are considerably varied, including a wheel, sea-horse, an archaic male head (perhaps Taras), and a later female head, a dolphin, or a seated figure of Taras. In the fourth century Taras is relegated to the reverse, but is by no means universal there; meanwhile an entirely new type is adopted for the obverse, of the agonistic kind (see p. 232): a horseman walking or in rapid motion, or crowned by Victory, or a rider crowning his own horse. A head of Apollo, Herakles or a goddess is also found. At Metapontum the ear of corn, which may be either a symbol of Demeter or a commercial badge, appears at first (550-400) on the obverse, then on the reverse (400-300).[2] The

[1] See Plates xcv., No. 5; xcix., No. 5.

[2] Plates xcv., No. 2; xcix., No. 7.



COINS OF FOURTH CENTURY: ASIA MINOR AND GREECE

1. RHODES. 2. CLAZOMENAE. 3. LAMPSACUS. 4. AMPHIPOLIS. 5. AENOS. 6. CHALCIDICE. 7. PHILIP OF MACEDON. 8. CORINTH. 9. ARCADIA. 10. ACHAEAN LEAGUE



COINS OF FOURTH CENTURY: CRETE AND WESTERN GREECE

1. KNOSSOS. 2. PHAESTOS. 3. KYDONIA. 4. SYBRITA. 5. TARENTUM. 6. TERINA. 7. METAPONTUM. 8. HERAKLEIA. PANDOSIA. 10. THURIUM. 11. SYRACUSE. 12. CYRENE

coins of Poseidonia, which only extend from 550 to 400, usually have the figure of Poseidon on the obverse, which down to 480 appears in incuse on the other side;[1] it is then replaced by a bull. Those of Kroton have been shown to bear some reference to the tenets of Pythagoras who was a resident in that city; the obverse has at first a tripod, then (after 420) a head of Herakles, Apollo, or Hera Lakinia; the reverse a tripod or a figure of Herakles. The coins of Terina and Thurium are more remarkable for their artistic beauty than for their subjects, but the latter are interesting from their reverse design of a bull, at first walking, then rushing forward or butting.[2] The town was founded in 443 in succession to the destroyed Sybaris, and it is thought that the bull may represent the river Krathis associated with the older town. Incidentally it may be noted that the fine series of Thurian coins shows how the Attic types might have developed, if they had not adhered to tradition; Thurium was an Athenian colony. At Terina we find almost consistently the head of the eponymous nymph on the one side and a figure of Nike (Victory) on the other; it is worth noting that on the earliest examples the Nike is not winged.

Most of what has already been said of Italian coins in general will apply also to those of Sicily; but an additional and interesting feature of the latter is a tendency to symbolise local features. At Syracuse the goddess's head surrounded by dolphins doubtless suggested the sea-girt Ortygia; at Thermae the hot springs were indicated by water flowing through a lion's mouth; and similarly the abundant celery of the neighbourhood became the type of Selinus, and the curved shape of the harbour accounts for the sickle on the coins of Zankle (Messana).

In turning to individual coinages, the famous Syracusan series naturally first demand our attention.[3] The following are the principal types down to 280 B.C. :—

Before 500.	*Obv.* Slow-moving chariot. Horseman with second horse.	*Rev.* Incuse square at first alone, then with head in centre.
500-478.	Female head and dolphins.	Chariot with Nike. Horseman.
480-415.	Head of Nymph.	Chariot with Nike.
415-405.	Head of Herakles or Athena (gold).	Female head or wheel in incuse square.

[1] Plate XCV., No. 1. [2] Plates XCV., Nos. 6, 7; XCIX., Nos. 6, 10.
[3] See Plates XCV., No. 11; XCVII., Nos. 7-10; XCIX., No. 11; C., No. 11.

415-360.	Head of Persephone (decadrachms), with corn and dolphins (by Euainetos).	Chariot and Nike.
	Head of Arethusa with dolphins (decadrachms by Kimon).	Chariot and Nike.
	Head of Arethusa to front (by Kimon).	Chariot as before.
	Head of Athena (by Eukleidas).	
360-317.	Head of Apollo (electrum).	Head of Artemis.
	Head of Zeus or Athena (silver).	Pegasos.
	Head of Arethusa (silver).	Horseman.
317-289.	Head of Persephone.	Chariot, Horseman, etc.

The more archaic coins can be dated by that known as the Demareteion, struck by Gelon I. after his victory over the Carthaginians in 479; the introduction (probably by Dion) of the Corinthian types (Athena and Pegasos, cf. p. 231) denotes the restoration of the democracy by Timoleon; and the coins from 317 to 289 can be dated by the names of tyrants. Syracuse is almost alone among Sicilian cities in possessing a coinage of the decadent period, the others having suffered largely from the Carthaginian invasion, of 409-396 B.C., or from subsequent catastrophes. The historical data here are, as Sir Charles Newton says, especially valuable as enabling us 'to trace the steps by which this art passed out of archaic constraint and *gaucherie* into noble simplicity and grace; we see how the lines of the composition become gradually more flowing and the representation of organic form and living action more subtle and intelligent.'[1]

From an artistic point of view the coins of Akragas or Agrigentum are hardly inferior to those of Syracuse; but they show less variety of types. From 550 to 415 an eagle appears on the obverse, a crab on the reverse; during the next decade the prosperity of the city is indicated by the splendid decadrachm, which has for its obverse type two eagles destroying a hare, for the reverse a chariot with Victory or a man as driver;[2] variations occur with one eagle destroying a hare or serpent, the crab being retained for the reverse. In 406 the city was destroyed, and when the coins begin again in 340 it is with a greater variety of types, heads of Zeus and the local deity Akragas appearing on the obverses, while the eagle and hare type is relegated to the reverse.

The coins of Kamarina are not specially remarkable except during

[1] *Essays on Art*, p. 417.

[2] Plate XCVII., No. 1.

the fifth century (461-405) when some very beautiful types occur, including the horned head of the river-god Hipparis and the water-nymph Kamarina, floating over a lake on a swan.[1] At Gela the usual obverse type down to 415 is a chariot, sometimes with Victory as driver, the reverse showing a bull or the fore-part of one, subsequently replaced by a horned head of the eponymous hero, Gelas;[2] in 405 the city was destroyed. The types of Messana (Zankle) are more varied than those of any other Sicilian city; at Katana an interesting and unique coin appears in 476-461 B.C. with the name of the Aetneans, and a figure of Zeus of Aetna (see above, p. 230).[3] It has reference to the change of name of the city during that period, while it was subject to Hiero of Syracuse.

In Greece proper and the islands the coinages, speaking generally, do not reach the high artistic level of Sicily and Magna Graecia; there are, however, several series of special beauty or interest. To the former category belong the coins of Elis, with the eagle and hare type, recalling the fine Akragas coin, and the head of Zeus and the Victory on a pedestal, which were probably suggested by the well-known statues at Olympia (pp. 97, 108);[4] also those of Gortyna in Crete with the remarkable type of Europa seated in a tree with Zeus in the form of an eagle, the bull, with or without Europa, appearing on the reverse.[5] Among the coinages which are interesting in other ways may be mentioned that of Boeotia.[6] Here we have a feature unique in Greek numismatic history, the use of the typical Boeotian shield by *all* the towns in that state, which indicates the federal or Amphictyonic league under which all were united. This federal currency lasted from 660 to 447 B.C., when Thebes monopolised the right of coining and produced a series of staters of great artistic merit, with various Herakles types, recalling in style the Parthenon metopes. The shield type was revived in 426, with an amphora or trident for the reverse; in the Hellenistic age the god Poseidon himself appears in place of his emblem. The coin-types of Athens and Corinth have already been described. Other interesting types are those of Knossos in Crete, where a maze or conventional representation of the labyrinth of Minos forms the reverse design throughout the series; in the earlier examples the head of Theseus occurs in the centre, subsequently that of the Minotaur. The labyrinth itself varies in form from square to

[1] Plate XCVII., No. 2. [2] Plate XCV., No. 8. [3] Plate XCVII., No. 4.
[4] See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 355, and Plate XCVI., Nos. 9-11.
[5] Plate XCVI., No. 12. [6] Plates XCIV., No. 9; XCVI., No. 8.

round, and about 200 B.C., when an alliance with Athens is betokened by the adoption of the head of Athena and the owl on an amphora, appears only as an adjunct in the field.[1]

In Asia Minor, as already noted, the chief feature is the retention of the incuse square on the reverse down to the end of the fifth century, though in some cases the design is varied by the introduction of some emblem in the centre. The coins of Clazomenae are usually regarded as reaching a high artistic level, and those of Ephesus are mythologically interesting, though the head of Artemis which occurs after 300 B.C. is of the Greek type, and the local 'Diana of the Ephesians' is not found before the Roman period.[2] The staters of Cyzicus play an important part in the history of numismatics, but their types are too varied to enumerate in detail;[3] a similarly fine series was issued by Lampsacus in the fourth century, on which the reverse type is the fore-part of a winged horse, the obverse a Victory sacrificing a ram or erecting a trophy, Helle on the ram, the Cabeiri, a head of Zeus or Actaeon. Some of the finest of all Greek coins were produced by the cities on the north coast of the Aegean, as Amphipolis and Olynthos.[4]

Numismatists are generally agreed in classifying Greek coins chronologically in seven periods, a brief account of which may serve to indicate their development and decadence from a purely artistic standpoint.

I. 700-480 B.C. *The Period of Archaic Art*, from the invention of coinage down to the Persian wars.

In the course of these two centuries we may observe a gradual development from extreme rudeness to clear defined forms characterised by a delicacy and strength which we do not even find in the fully-developed art of a later stage. But like all archaic work it is throughout marked by a stiffness and angularity which show that the artist has not yet attained mastery over his tools. The coin-types mostly take the form of animals or their heads, and their chief characteristic is the ingenuity shown in adapting the design to the space available (as on the contemporary gems, p. 211), so as to cover the whole field.

[1] Plates XCIX., No. 1; CI., No. 6.
[2] See Plates XCVIII., No. 2; XCVI., No. 1.
[3] See Plate XCVI., Nos. 3, 4, and for details Head, *op. cit.*, p. 451 ff.
[4] Plates XCVI., Nos. 5, 6; XCVIII., Nos. 4-6.



COINS OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

1, 2. ALEXANDER THE GREAT. 3. DEMETRIOS POLIORKETES. 4. LYSIMACHOS. 5. ANTIGONOS. 6. ANTIMACHOS. 7. ALEXANDER OF EPIRUS. 8. PERSEUS OF MACEDON. 9. RHODES. 10. HIERO OF SICILY. 11. SYRACUSE



COINS OF THE GRAECO-ROMAN PERIOD

1. PHARNACES. 2. RHODES. 3. OROPHERNES. 4. KISTOPHOROS. 5. TENEDOS. 6. KNOSSOS. 7. TIGRANES. 8. CYZICUS. 9. ATHENS. 10. MITHRADATES. 11. MILETUS. 12. EPHESUS. 13. ELIS

Heraldic groupings of animals and figures running (but in an attitude which looks like kneeling) are common; the animal types, however, are the commoner, in accordance with the universal law of early Greek art. Monsters are also frequently found, and when the human figure is introduced, it is more often entire than the head alone. The latter, when it occurs, is always in profile, engraved with both corners of the eye visible, as if seen from the front. The hair is indicated by minute dots, and the mouth wears the usual archaic smile. It may also be noted that decorative borders and ornaments filling the field, as on the early painted vases, are not uncommon. Throughout, the treatment may be described as primitive; yet towards the close of the period the great advance made is unmistakable. As has already been noted, there is seldom at first any design on the reverse except the incuse square; but the coins of Sicily and Magna Graecia usually form an exception to this rule.

II. 480-415 B.C. *The Period of Transitional Art*, from the Persian Wars to the Athenian expedition against Sicily.

With the fifth century begins an enormous advance in the technical skill of the engraver. The rude incuse square is superseded, if not by a figure, at any rate by a more elaborate form of square containing a device or divided in some form of pattern (as on the coins of Akanthos),[1] and in many cases the abbreviated name of the city or magistrate appears. The incuse square is retained longest in Asia Minor. In regard to style the archaic refinement at first even increases, and the Greek conception of grace or χάρις now becomes, as in contemporary sculpture, the guiding principle. Subsequently it gives way to a severe simplicity, and a largeness and freedom of treatment which are doubtless the result of Pheidian influence. Yet we do not find this advance, strange to say, on the coins of Athens itself, for the reason already noted, that on religious grounds a rigid adherence to the old style and type was observed, as in the prize-vases.[2] Generally speaking, details are rendered with wonderful delicacy and with a growing capacity for the understanding of the anatomical structure of the human body (as may be seen in the Seilenos on the coins of of the Sicilian Naxos),[3] also for greater freedom of movement. The human head now first becomes general, and was probably found to be

[1] Plates XCIV., No. 7; XCVI., No. 6.

[2] But the reason was also partly commercial; these coins circulated very widely on the borders of civilisation.

[3] Plate XCVII., No. 6.

a very convenient design for the circular space; it is still, however, generally rendered in profile. Some of the finest coin-types of Sicily and Magna Graecia belong to this period, notably those of Thurium, Syracuse, and Agrigentum (the type with two eagles seizing a hare).

III. 415-336 B.C. *The Period of Finest Art*, from the Sicilian Expedition to the accession of Alexander the Great.

The culminating period is reached about 400 B.C., when the art of coin-engraving attained the highest pitch of excellence it has ever known in ancient or modern times. The severe simplicity of the preceding century gives way to a softer, but still ideal and dignified treatment, and this high level is still maintained down to about 350 B.C. The types are characterised, says Mr. Head, 'by intensity of action, perfect symmetry of proportion, elegance of composition, finish of execution, and richness of ornamentation.' Among new developments the facing head is now seen for the first time, and there are fine examples at Clazomenae (Apollo), Rhodes (Helios), Amphipolis, Ainos in Thrace (Hermes), Larissa, Pandosia (Hera Lakinia), Syracuse (Arethusa and Athena), and Cyrene (Zeus Ammon).[1] Among fine reverse designs may be noted the Herakles at Kroton and the seated Pan of Arcadia.[2] A tendency to realism and picturesqueness is also to be observed in many types, as in those of Agrigentum, and the remarkable coins of Gortyna, which represent Europa seated in a tree with Zeus in the form of an eagle (not a bull). But the most celebrated coins of the time are the great silver Syracusan decadrachms and tetradrachms, engraved by Kimon and Euainetos, even if for real artistic beauty they are excelled by other coinages, such as that of Terina. To this period belong nearly all the existing artists' signatures, implying, when they occur, that the coins were engraved by craftsmen of high repute.

IV. 336-280 B.C. *The Period of Later Fine Art*, from the accession of Alexander to the death of Lysimachos.

The chief characteristic of this period is the appearance of portrait-heads of rulers on the coins, from Alexander onward, due to the political changes which destroyed many of the autonomous states and caused the centralising of art in the large cities. The portraits are usually idealised, but full of individual force and character; there is, however, in the purely ideal heads a growing tendency to weakness.

[1] See Plate XCVIII., Nos. 1, 2, 4, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 9.

Some of these heads are remarkable for their expression of feeling. In the human figures on the reverses the all-pervading influence of Lysippos is often to be marked. The most frequent reverse type is a seated figure, the aspect and pose of which are borrowed from the Zeus with eagle on Alexander's coins; examples of this may be seen on the coins of Demetrios Poliorketes and Lysimachos.[1]

V. 280-146 B.C. *The Period of the Decline of Art*, from the death of Lysimachos to the Roman conquest of Greece.

The coinage of this period, especially the silver, is principally regal; hence there is little difficulty about dating. Historically the period is important on account of the political changes which affected so many Greek states; thus the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C. had important results in Asia Minor, as had the defeat of Philip v. at Kynoskephalae in 197 on Continental Greece. The former restored to the people of many Greek cities in Asia Minor the right of coining which they had lost under Alexander; but even then they still continued to issue coins after the pattern of his, often with the addition of the name or badge of the city, or only with monograms. Hence the currency for a long time consisted mainly of Alexander-types, only distinguished from his real coinage by the larger dimensions of the coins. The coinage of the Macedonian kings comes to an end with the defeat of Perseus in 168. Athens recovered her right of coinage about 220, when the new style of tetradrachms (see p. 231) was first issued. In Italy Roman silver coinage begins about 268, putting an end to nearly all the autonomous issues. The regal series of this period include, besides Macedon, the kings of Egypt, Syria, Bactria, Pontus, Bithynia, Pergamon, and Sicily. From an artistic point of view the work of the coins of the period is usually careless, though not without merit; they comprise many fine portraits, such as those of Hiero of Sicily and Perseus of Macedon.[2] But on the whole the coins are showy, aiming only at a general decorative effect. The influence of Lysippos, of the dramatic Pergamene School, and of its even more theatrical successors, is often apparent.

VI. 146 B.C.—27 B.C. *Period of Continued Decline*, from the Roman Conquest to the rise of the Roman Empire.

The chief producer of coins in this period is Athens, where they extend down to the capture by Sulla in B.C. 86. The regal series of

[1] Plate c., Nos. 3, 4.

[2] Plate c., Nos. 8, 10.

Syria and Egypt also continue down to the Roman conquest. In Asia Minor the silver coins are mostly *Kistophori*, a special currency permitted by the Romans, and so called from the type they bear, the sacred Bacchic chest or *cista mystica*.[1] The only specimens of coin with any pretensions to artistic merit are those with the idealised portrait of Mithradates VI. of Pontus (121-63 B.C.).[2]

VII. 27 B.C.—A.D. 268. *Period of Graeco-Roman Art*, from Augustus to Gallienus.

Under the Empire the right of bronze coinage was granted to various cities in the east of the Empire, but in the west this was rarely the case. These are rather to be regarded as municipal than imperial coinages, the head of the Emperor on the obverse being merely complimentary. Many small towns issued coins on special occasions, such as games or festivals. All these coins are quite devoid of artistic interest, and their sole importance is historical or antiquarian; the art of portraiture, however, was revived with some success under the Roman Emperors on their own coins as opposed to those issued in Greek cities.

[1] Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 461; see Plate CI., No. 4.
[2] Plate CI., No. 10.

CHAPTER XIII

GREEK METAL-WORK

Origin of metal-working in Greece—Bronze, gold, and silver and their use—Mycenaean metal-work and jewellery—Rise of gold-working in Greece and Etruria—Etruscan jewellery—Etruscan bronze mirrors and cistae—Greek bronze-work—Greek gold-work of best period—Jewellery from the Crimea—Forgeries—Silver-chasing in the Hellenistic Age.

IN order to complete our survey of Greek Art in all its branches, we must not ignore the fact that many of the most beautiful and characteristic products of Hellenic taste have not as yet come within our purview, namely, their ornamental work in metal. And this industry has the more claim on our notice inasmuch as it appears in an advanced stage at a very early period of Greek civilisation, and in it may be traced the whole development of Greek art thenceforward down to Roman times, although the classes of objects and the technical processes in which it is displayed vary in favour at different epochs. Greek metal-work may be roughly classified under three headings: Jewellery, Chasing in gold or silver, and Bronze work, exclusive of statuary. The first class includes personal ornaments of all kinds, such as finger-rings, necklaces, earrings, and pendants; the second includes vessels of gold and silver, ornaments of furniture, etc.; and the third, *repoussé* work and engraving in bronze, such as the mirrors of the fourth century or the Etruscan cistae. The inclusion herewith of Etruscan metal-work needs no apology, for the Etruscan processes were largely identical with the Greek, and their achievements hardly inferior in style or technical merit. The ordinary Greek term for all work of this kind in gold, silver, or bronze was τορευτική, though in strict accuracy this work denotes chasing, as opposed to ἐμπαιστική, which signifies work in *repoussé*. It may, however, be employed as a general term for all processes, stamping, chiselling, or engraving, which could be applied to metal, with the exception of casting and moulding, which belong to the art of πλαστική or sculpture, and

γλυπτική, or glyptic art, by which term those of engraving gems and coin-dies are understood. These latter arts have been fully dealt with in preceding chapters.

It is the merest truism that in the history of the world's civilisation the art of working metals is one of the earliest to come into general use and one of the most rapid in its development. We are, in fact, accustomed to regard the appearance of what is generally known as the Bronze Age—at all events in European countries—as signalising the beginnings of civilisation and artistic capacity. In other words, it is recognised that at a very remote period the method of working this particular metal was well understood by nearly all the nations of antiquity. On the other hand, it can hardly be said that bronze-working during the primitive period was raised to the dignity of an art; numerous as the remains of bronze are, they are almost entirely objects of a utilitarian character, such as weapons, tools, household utensils, or simple personal ornaments. But this does not affect the contention that the working of bronze was one of the earliest industries practised by the successors of Neolithic man. The familiar instance of Tubal-Cain may be taken as embodying an ancient tradition of the primitive knowledge of metal-working; and even though the discovery of tin and its qualities as an alloy may be a later development, we may still be certain that copper was the first metal on which the craftsman of the Bronze Age practised his hand.

In regard to the other two metals, gold and silver, the case is somewhat different, owing to their greater rarity and unsuitability for the ordinary requirements of daily life. Of silver in particular we know little from actual discoveries, this being a metal which offers little resistance to the destructive effects of burial; and of antique silver-work we possess little that is anterior to the Roman period. But gold, as is well known, is virtually indestructible; and recent discoveries on Greek soil have placed us in possession of a truly marvellous series of early gold ornaments, many as fresh and perfect as when they left the hands of their makers, which now enable us to claim for work in gold an antiquity almost equal to that of bronze. We have already given some description in Chapter II. of the wonderful treasures found by Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae or unearthed by equally fortunate excavators in Cyprus, as well as the 'Aegina treasure,' which is discussed below in detail. Schliemann's finds at Troy form the earliest examples of ornamental work in gold; we know now that they cannot be Priam's treasure, as he thought

(see p. 15), and they are of a semi-barbarous character in spite of their ornateness. The patterns are simple, and animal forms are rare. But the later finds, as at Mycenae, may be held to justify the enthusiasm of Walter Pater when he wrote that 'the history of Greek art begins, as some have fancied general history to begin, in a golden age, but in an age, so to speak, of real gold, the period of those first twisters and hammerers of the precious metals—men who had already discovered the flexibility of silver and the ductility of gold, the capacity of both for infinite delicacy of handling, and who enjoyed, with complete freshness, a sense of beauty and fitness in their work—a period of which that flower of gold on a silver stalk, picked up lately in one of the graves of Mycenae, or the legendary golden honeycomb of Daedalus, might serve as the symbol.'

This abundance of gold at such an early period leads us to inquire whence the ancients were able to obtain it in such quantities with their limited field of commerce. In Greece itself we hear of gold-mines in the islands of Siphnos and Thasos, and there were others in Thrace and Macedonia. The gold deposits of the rivers of Asia Minor, such as the Hermus and Pactolus, were also famous, and further afield were those of Scythia and the river Oxus. Here were the fabled heaps of gold guarded by Gryphons, as we see depicted on a vase in the British Museum. To the south, gold was found in Arabia, as the Psalmist tells us,[1] and also in Upper Egypt and Ethiopia. It is clear that even in the earliest age most of these sources were open to the peoples of Greece by means of their own or other nation's commerce. Silver, which as we know was plentiful in the days of Solomon (1015-975 B.C.), was found chiefly in Persia and Northern India; subsequently the mines of Laurion in Attica acquired a great reputation, and in later times the great centres for this metal were Spain and Sardinia. Copper was obtained chiefly from Cyprus, where it must have been worked from the earliest beginnings of the Bronze Age, and originally in a pure state unmixed with tin. Other mines were at Chalcis in Euboea, at one time a great centre of this industry, but they seem to have been worked out before Roman times; in Southern Italy; and in Spain. The necessary supplies of tin for mixing with the copper came in the first place from the region of the Hindû Kush, the ancient Bactriana; after the Mycenaean period, as is well known, large quantities were brought by the Phoenicians from Britain.

To return to the achievements of the Mycenaean Age, which as far

[1] lxxii. 15.

as the remains of metal-work are concerned, are chiefly of gold, there are two sites in particular which have yielded finds of great extent and importance. These are Mycenae, and Enkomi in Cyprus. We have already alluded in Chapter II. (p. 19) to the general artistic character of these objects, which are remarkable for their richness and variety. They do not, however, include any single example which can vie with the wonderful Vaphio cups (*ibid.*) as specimens of the Mycenaean goldsmith's craft. It will suffice to mention in addition, as an example from the latest stage of this civilisation, the 'treasure of Aegina,' which the British Museum acquired some years ago, and which includes some typically Mycenaean gold-work and other objects which display Egyptian influence.[1] Among the former are a gold cup with *repoussé* designs consisting of a rosette surrounded by spirals,[2] a characteristic Mycenaean ornament, and a series of large rosettes, also of *repoussé* work, which are pierced in the edges with holes, showing that they were intended to be sewn on to the garments of the deceased. There are also a series of plain gold rings which, as Dr. Arthur Evans has pointed out,[3] answer to a certain standard of weight, and were therefore probably used as money. At the present day in Greece, it may be noted, it is customary for women to wear their fortunes about their person in the form of ornaments, and these rings may have been worn on a similar principle. Another ring is more of the form familiar in later times, with a bezel in the form of a shield. Lastly, there are four remarkable pendants, in the form of plates of open-work, with chains to which small gold discs are fastened.[4] A similar plate is cut in the form of an Egyptian figure standing on a boat, also of Egyptian form. Dr. Evans, who dated the treasure about the tenth century B.C., regards the objects as all of Greek manufacture, 'though under strong Asiatic and, no doubt to a great extent, Phoenician influence.' That is to say, that the influences which make themselves felt in the style of the objects differ in many respects, *e.g.*, in the absence of naturalism, from those usually apparent in Mycenaean art.

Leaving the Mycenaean Age now for the subsequent period of the dawn of Greek history we must first bridge over a gap of several centuries during which the jeweller's art is at a very low ebb, and specimens of metal-work hardly exist. Yet during this period the gem-engraver's

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xiii. p. 195 ff. [2] Plate CII.

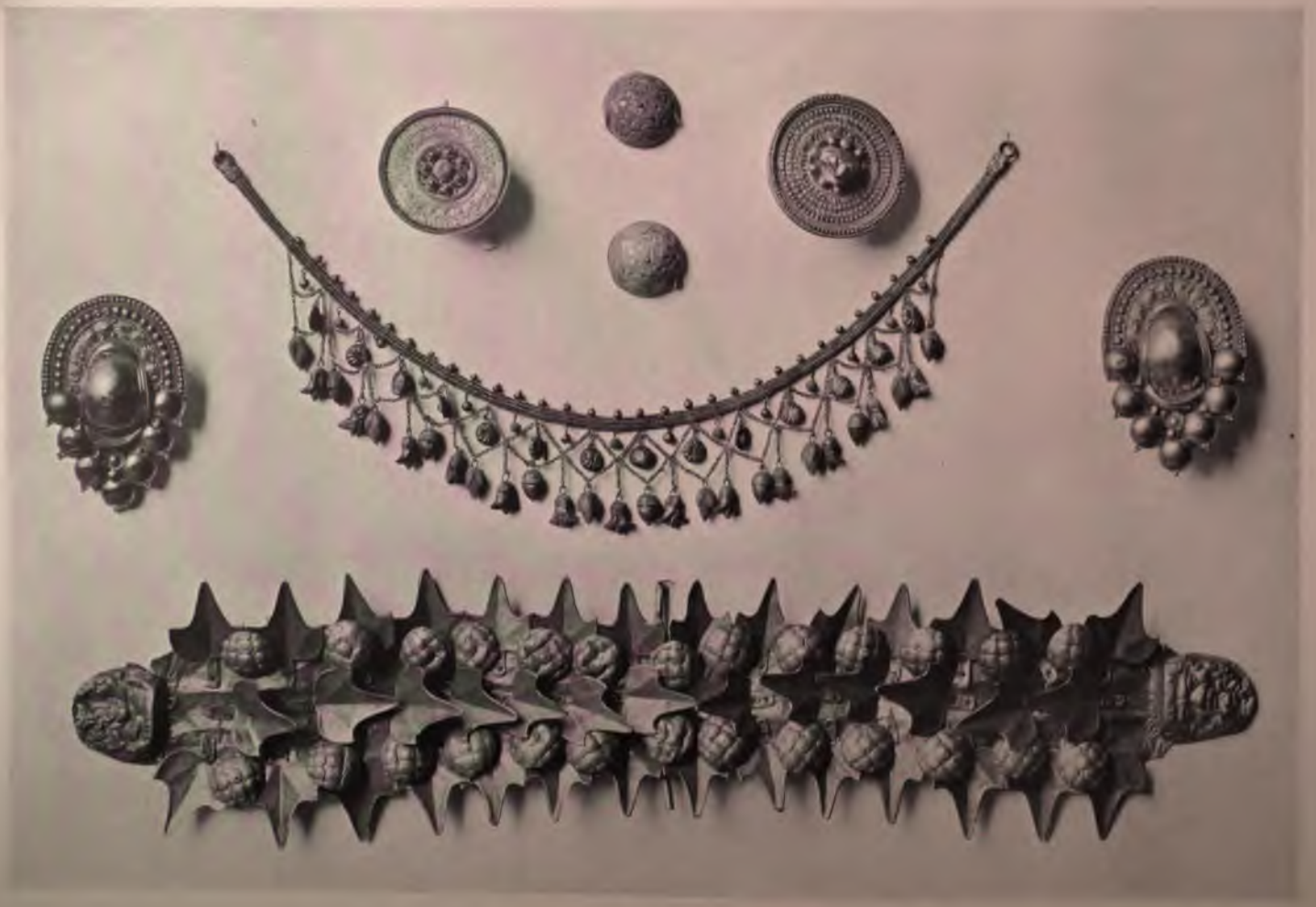
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 212. Gold rings, apparently for a similar purpose, were also found at Enkomi.

[4] See Plate CII.





EARLY GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM THE ÆGINA TREASURE
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



ETRUSCAN GOLD ORNAMENTS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

hand had not lost its cunning, as the series of 'island-gems' (p. 208) sufficiently indicates. We are forced to turn for the metal-work of this period to literary records, such as they are, for which reference may be made to the works of art described in Chapter II. These are the shield of Achilles and other objects familiar to us from the Homeric poems, the Hesiodic shield of Herakles, and the less mythical chest of Kypselos, in which the decoration was largely plated with gold. Homer also recognises the χαλκεύς or smith as a well-known type, and alludes to his tools. The method of decoration, if not the technique, of the Homeric shield, may be reflected, as was pointed out by the late A. S. Murray, in the series of bronze and silver bowls found on various sites in Cyprus, and also in Italy, which belong to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. They are clearly of Phoenician workmanship, richly ornamented with engraved designs of hunting-scenes, pastoral scenes, and decorative patterns; but they are rather to be regarded as influencing Greek art than as actually illustrating its development. The only other work of this period to which space permits us to allude is the series of gold plaques from Kameiros in Rhodes (now in the British Museum) with *repoussé* designs of Centaurs, the 'Asiatic' Artemis with two lions, and similar subjects. These date from the seventh century B.C.

Meanwhile, in Etruria a steady artistic development may be traced in metal-work, parallel with that of Greece, yet in many ways distinct. The period of early Italian civilisation, from the time of the Etruscan immigration, about 1000 B.C., down to the seventh century, is known as the 'Villanuova' period (from a site of that name at Bologna), and exhibits an interesting series of works in bronze, which includes objects cast and hammered and worked in *repoussé*. Sculpture, indeed, is limited to small figures of a votive character, closely resembling those found at Olympia; but of other forms of metal-work there are abundant examples. These mostly take the form of large bronze urns and buckets (*situlae*), decorated with friezes; and many of the smaller objects, such as the *fibulae* or safety-brooches, are interesting, if not artistically, for their chronological development. Many of the bronze objects of this epoch, such as the larger fibulae, are ornamented with figures of ducks modelled in the round, a characteristic of early Greek as well as of early Italian metal-work.[1] Towards the end of the seventh century a great change comes over the art of Etruria—hitherto purely local in

[1] See examples in the British Museum, *Cat. of Bronzes*, 345-358; also *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xiii. p. 206.

character—and contemporaneously great waves of Oriental and of Greek influence sweep into the country. In the latter case we may perhaps see a verification of the tradition that when Demaratos was expelled from Corinth in 665 B.C. he took with him a body of craftsmen who introduced various arts into their new home in Italy.

However this may be, we see in the contents of the Polledrara tomb at Vulci (now in the British Museum) strong traces both of Greek and Oriental influence, as in the bands of reliefs round the bronze bust, the upper part of which is purely Etruscan in style, but the reliefs are Greek both in style and feeling, probably also in execution, and have much in common with what we know of early bronze relief-work in Greece and Ionia.[1] But the bust itself is purely Etruscan, and well exemplifies the inability of that people to achieve satisfactory sculpture in the round. Of a similar character is a series of silver reliefs in the British Museum found at Perugia, having points of contact with the Ionic vases of the sixth century. This and other evidence has led scholars to the conclusion that much of what had previously passed for Etruscan metal-work, chiefly from the fact of its having been found in Etruria, was really imported from Greece, and more especially from Ionia, a region which, as vase-finds show, was always in close intercourse with Italy. It is also interesting to note that the early architectural terra-cotta work of Etruria, including a sarcophagus in the British Museum, and painted slabs and sculptured friezes from Cervetri (p. 148) presents just the same features of Ionic art. Similarly it is now generally recognised that not only several classes of early painted vases, but many sixth-century gems, formerly regarded as Etruscan, must rightly be claimed as Ionian work (cf. p. 210).

But we must not ignore the other factor, that of Oriental influence, which is exemplified in a *cista* or coffer from the Castellani collection. This is of wood plated with open-work designs in silver, and bordered with a frieze of lotos-and-honeysuckle pattern of a kind found on those early Greek vases which show the closest dependence on Oriental prototypes. Among examples of more direct Oriental influence may be noted, besides faïence vases found in the Polledrara tomb, a series of silver and bronze bowls found at Palestrina (Praeneste), a city which, though situated on the other side of Rome, was apparently dependent on the Etruscans for its works of art, as will be seen later. These bowls are of the kind to which we have already

[1] Cf. some early Corinthian gold reliefs published in *Arch. Zeitung*, 1884, pl. 8.

made allusion, as being of Phoenician workmanship, and found also in Cyprus.

The earliest gold objects in Etruscan tombs are casual importations, beginning about the end of the seventh century, when the *fossa* type of tomb was being replaced by the corridor or chamber type; as the sixth century advances they become more frequent. The Polledrara tomb contains a richly embossed gold diadem; and still more noteworthy is the series of objects found in the contemporary Regulini-Galassi tomb at Cervetri, together with numerous vessels and implements of bronze. Silver, except in the examples already noted, is much rarer, and chiefly appears in the form of fibulae, bracelets, and spirals; and it is to the Etruscan gold-work that we must turn as most truly typical of the metal-work of the archaic and subsequent periods.

The fondness of the Etruscans for jewellery was perennial and universal, and is exemplified not only by the multitude of existing specimens, but also by the manner in which the figures on their other works of art, especially women, are adorned. To take an instance—late indeed, but still typical—the effigy of Seianti Thanunia which surmounts her sarcophagus in the British Museum, is decked out with a gilt *sphendone* over the forehead, heavy pendent earrings of gold and amber, a rich necklace of the same materials, bracelets in the form of serpents, and many large rings on the fingers. These ornaments are of course only reproduced in terra-cotta, but are painted yellow or brown to represent the original materials.

It should be borne in mind that in discussing Etruscan gold ornaments the distinction must be observed between those intended for personal wear and those made only for funerary purposes. The Etruscans were addicted to great pomp in their funeral ceremonies, and the corpse of the deceased was always decked with all kinds of finery, which accompanied it to the tomb; hence the practice arose of employing a cheaper, if more showy, kind of ornament for this purpose, and stamped gold-leaf was largely called into request as a simple means of avoiding expense without the appearance of niggardliness. The process was not indeed one confined to funereal jewellery, and had been employed for a long time in different parts of Greece—at Mycenae, and in Rhodes, Cyprus and Lydia—where it was at one time the only known process for gold ornaments; but it is still characteristic of a certain class of ornaments found in Etruscan tombs. Among these are crowns or wreaths of large leaves, of which examples may be seen

in the British Museum,[1] one placed on a bronze helmet; and pectorals, intended to be sewn on dresses, or to cover bronze objects, of which there are examples in the Vatican.

Subsequent to the seventh century, when the process is said to have been invented, the practice of soldering appears to have come into regular use for personal ornaments of all kinds. We find diadems, of which the Louvre possesses a beautiful example, consisting of petals, rosettes, or palmettes, attached to a plain band of gold-leaf; or again spherical *bullae* and other figures, hollow inside, and consequently very light and fragile, with designs worked in *repoussé* on gold plates which are bent up and joined at the edges to present a solid surface. The *bulla*, a circular ornament with more or less convex surface, was the typical Etruscan ornament, worn as a pendant to a necklace by men and women alike, as in later days by Roman boys before they assumed the *toga virilis*. Nearly all the jewellery of the sixth century is made in this way; it is very rare to find a solid gold ornament, or one made in one piece.

But the typical Etruscan processes are those in filigree and granulated work.[2] The former consists of fine threads of gold, which are sometimes plaited into chains or otherwise combined, sometimes worked singly in all kinds of patterns and figures, and soldered on to a flat surface. The latter takes the form of minute granules of gold placed close together over a flat surface, either purely ornamental, or as a method of representing hair in figures. One of the most remarkable examples of these two processes is a mask of Dionysos in the Louvre, in which the curls of hair over the forehead are represented by filigree spirals, while the hair on the crown and the beard are worked entirely in the granulated method. All these technical processes are quite peculiar to Etruria, nor have modern workers in jewellery altogether succeeded in discovering their secrets, although frequent attempts were made by Signor Castellani, a connoisseur of great skill and experience. These attempts were based on a study of the survivals of antique ornaments among the Italian peasantry (see below, p. 264).

In the pit-tombs personal ornaments are almost confined to spirals of bronze, probably used for twisting up in the hair; but subsequently these are also made in gold and silver, and a kind of large hair-pin with bulbous head also makes its appearance. The latter are often ornamented with stamped reliefs or designs in filigree and granulated work. Of these there are examples in the Louvre. The early monuments also

[1] A specimen is given on Plate CIII.

[2] *Ibid.*

show figures wearing crowns or diadems, ornamented with foliated patterns, the leaves being exceedingly fine and fragile, but it is not certain whether or not these are only funerary. Some specimens reach a high degree of excellence, with figures in relief, and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale is a perfect marvel of the jeweller's art.

Of even greater interest are the Etruscan earrings, of which several types were in vogue at different periods. The earliest is that known to Italian archaeologists as a *baule*, or 'coffer-shaped,' and is found at Vulci in the seventh-century tombs. It is very common in the sixth century, but then disappears. The broad flat surface of the earring, which consists of a simple plate of metal bent into a semi-cylindrical shape, is enriched with spirals, filigree and granulated work, and rows of studs or globules. Other sixth-century types include crescents with small trefoil pendants, large plain discs, such as are worn by the figures in a painting from Corneto, and rosettes. The filigree and granulated work of this period reaches an extraordinary degree of fine craftsmanship. After the fifth century Greek types oust the native forms, but most examples lack the Greek fineness and taste. A common type of earring is derived from the coffer-form, the bent plate terminating below in a trefoil of three large convex discs with small beads in the interstices; the general effect is heavy and tasteless, and the size absurdly exaggerated.[1] A more effective type is that of the pendant in the form of a swan, an Eros, or a Nike, modelled in white enamel with gold details.

The necklace was above all others the favourite Etruscan form of jewellery. It is constantly seen on the statues of deities, women, and children, often with the pendent disc or *bulla* attached, the object of which was prophylactic. A good early specimen of this form of ornament is the stiff collar or gorget worn by the bronze Polledrara bust, doubtless an imitation of gold work. Some very beautiful examples of fine plaited chain work with pendants of various kinds, such as Gorgons' heads, Sirens, or acorns, belong to the succeeding period.[2] Pendants are also often made of precious stones, or a whole necklace is composed of beads in various materials.

Fibulae or brooches are not found in gold till after the end of the pit-tomb period (900 B.C.), when the 'leech' type, with its semi-circular bow, was in vogue, often ornamented with filigree spirals, or with an elaborate sheath for the pin. This type prevails down to the end of the seventh century, when it becomes fairly common. One was found

[1] See Plate CIII.

[2] *Ibid.*

in the Regulini-Galassi tomb, and another has a remarkable early Latin inscription.

M. Martha, in summing up the characteristics of Etruscan jewellery, distinguishes three periods of style.[1] In the first (down to 500 B.C.), the jewellery is fine and cleverly worked, but not beautiful; Oriental motives are introduced about the end of the seventh century, and the majority of examples are subject to this influence, as is shown by their resemblance to the contemporary work of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Asia Minor. In the second period (500-300 B.C.) there is a great advance: the forms are simple, the compositions restrained, and the richness of detail is not overdone; the style is free and naturalistic, marked by extraordinary technical dexterity. The work of this period must be largely Greek, as may be deduced from its analogies with the jewellery of the Cimmerian Bosphorus (see p. 261), and from the dependence of the Etruscans in this, as in other branches of art, on extraneous influences, first Oriental, then Hellenic. It is only in the third period (300-100 B.C.) that we see the results of genuinely native work; and how great is the difference! Pretentious vulgarity is the prevailing note, and size is the one object aimed at, as we saw in the case of the earrings.

Before we return from the contemplation of Etruscan metal work to that of the best Greek periods, we must turn to the consideration of another branch of art which enlisted their activities, and in which they undeniably achieved a considerable measure of success. In the engraving of bronze the Etruscans made an almost entirely new departure. The process is not indeed unknown in Greece, but was always subordinated to relief-work; in Etruria the reverse is the case. It has indeed been suggested that the Etruscan engraved bronze work represents in their art an analogous phase of artistic achievement to the painted vases of Athens, especially those of the red-figure period. At all events the influence of vase-painting can be traced in their engraved mirrors, the circular surface recalling the interior space of the Greek kylix, the decoration of which Epiktetos, Euphronios and their contemporaries brought to perfection. The vase-paintings also provided an unlimited choice of subjects; and in the Etruscan practice of inscribing names over their figures we may see another trace of the same influence. It will be remembered that the early part of the fifth century, the time when the engraved mirrors rose into popularity, was the time when the importation of Athenian vases into Etruria was at its height. And

[1] *L'Art Étrusque*, p. 584.





ETRUSCAN ENGRAVED MIRRORS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





GREEK ENGRAVED BRONZES
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

further, in the fourth-century *cistae*, or toilet-chests, of which so many fine examples have been found at Palestrina (Praeneste), we may see reflections of the more pictorial scenes on the later Greek vases, for which the neighbouring region of Campania was at that time a principal centre.

The majority of the Etruscan mirrors belong to the third and fourth centuries B.C., though not a few go back to the fifth century, and some are indubitably archaic in style. In the best period the conceptions are carefully thought out, and thoroughly Hellenic in spirit, the drawing refined and masterly; in the later stage the drawing is free and careless, and the subjects mostly monotonous repetitions of certain types. An obvious comparison may be made with the contemporary vase-painting of Campania and Apulia. The subjects engraved on these mirrors are almost entirely drawn from Greek mythology, especially in the best period, the Trojan legends or groups of deities being the most popular. Mingled with these purely Hellenic conceptions, Etruscan deities often appear, such as the *Lasae*, or Fates, who, like almost all female deities of Etruria, are depicted as winged women. More rarely, scenes from local or Roman legends are found, such as the suckling of Romulus and Remus by the wolf. On many of the later examples are depicted figures of the mysterious Cabeiri, but the reason for their popularity in Etruria is unknown. The Etruscan engraver had also a weakness for incongruous combinations of mythological personages, such as Ajax and Amphiaraos, or Alkmena, Thetis, and Seilenos. These anomalies may be due either to confused ideas or to carelessness on the part of the artist. Among the finest existing examples may be mentioned one in the British Museum representing the meeting of Menelaos and Helen after the taking of Troy;[1] another in Berlin with Dionysos and Semele; and one in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris with the Apotheosis of Herakles.

The inscriptions are also an interesting feature. The Etruscans, while adopting the Greek myths and legends wholesale, transformed the names of the deities and persons represented into their own language and alphabet. Thus Athena appears as *Menerfa*, Aphrodite as *Turan*, Hermes as *Turms*, Dionysos as *Phuphluns*; and the names of heroes are only a degree less transformed: *Achle* for Achilles, *Elchsentre* for Alexander (Paris), or *Melerpanta* for Bellerophon. A mirror of late date in the British Museum, formerly in M. Tyszkie-

[1] Plate CIV. The left-hand mirror on that plate is of the archaic period.

wicz's collection, represents a girl and a man playing at the game of *duodecim scripta*; she is represented as saying *Devincam ted*, 'I shall beat you,' to which he replies *Opinor*, 'I think so'—these inscriptions being, it is noteworthy, in Latin.

The Etruscans also applied the method of engraved designs to another class of objects used in their daily life, *cistae* or large cylindrical toilet-boxes of bronze, of which many fine specimens have been found at Praeneste in Latium, though they are rare in Etruria. About eighty in all are known, of which only a few have designs of any particular merit, but some of these are genuine works of art. Most famous of all is the great Ficoroni *cista* in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome (Fig. 18),[1] which can be dated, from a Latin inscription on its lid, about B.C. 200; this inscription gives the name of the maker, Novius Plautius, who is thought to have been a Campanian working at Rome. The subject is that of the Argonauts on their arrival among the Bebryces in Bithynia, where Pollux punishes the churlish King Amykos, while his companions amuse themselves in various ways. It is remarkable for purity of style, skill in composition, and delicacy in the engraving, and is treated quite in the style of the finest red-figured vases, those which reflect the manner of Polygnotos (p. 151). An inferior, but still meritorious work, is the *cista* in the British Museum, which represents the sacrifice of Trojan prisoners by Achilles at the pyre of Patroklos. Others, too, bear subjects from Trojan legends, among which is a specimen, also in the British Museum, with the Judgment of Paris, a finely conceived



Fig. 18. The Ficoroni Cista.

[1] Amelung, *Museums of Rome*, i. p. 290; Martha, *L'Art Etrusque*, p. 537.



THE SIRIS BRONZES AND HEROIC FIGURE FROM BRACCIANO
(BRITISH MUSEUM)





GREEK BRONZE RELIEFS: 1. MIRROR CASE. 2. THE HAWKINS RELIEF
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

and carefully executed design, but with certain peculiarities of detail which betray its Etruscan origin.

It has been remarked that three distinct processes must have been necessary in the production of these *cistae*. In the first place, the bronze plates were cut into squares and received their engraved decoration, which (as also in the mirrors) was usually rendered more distinct by filling in the lines of the graving-tool with a white chalky pigment. The plates were then clipped and bent to a cylindrical form, the edges soldered together, and the bottom and cover attached. Finally, the handles, feet, and a row of rings with chains suspended from them were put on, in some cases partially obscuring the incised designs. The feet were always made in the form of lions' claws, with a figure in relief at the point of attachment to the body, the handles in the form of single figures or groups, which by their composition were suitable for the purpose, such as Peleus and Atalanta wrestling, or two men carrying a dead body.

The achievements of Greek workers in metal during the period we have been considering in Italy have perforce been lost sight of for the time being, but it must not be forgotten that this Etruscan metal-work, and still more the jewellery, reproduces for us the main characteristics of the genuine Greek work of the time in a greater degree than is the case with any other branch of art as practised by both nations. We have seen that the Etruscan jewellery of about 500-300 B.C. is very largely inspired by Greek feeling and Greek ideas, even if its technique is of purely native origin, and the existing remains from Etruscan tombs are so much more plentiful, and their continuous development so much more strongly marked than is the case with the somewhat isolated and scanty finds in Greece proper during the period 600-400 B.C., that in according to the former a somewhat large proportion of our space we are really at the same time making a sort of survey of the metal-work of Hellas itself.

But there are certain features which are not only peculiar to Greek work, but which also illustrate its superiority to that of Etruria, such as the bronze mirror-cases of the fourth century with their beautiful relief designs, and the analogous relief-work of the Siris bronzes and the bronze vases of the Eastern Archipelago. In the sphere of gold and silver work there is practically nothing to note until we come to the fourth century, with the marvellous finds in the Cimmerian Bosphorus or Crimea: and for this period the bronze work alone claims our attention.

GREEK METAL-WORK

Greek ornamental work in bronze may be considered under two distinct heads: that with engraved or incised decoration, and *repoussé* work or relief. Incised work was for some reason never so popular in Greece as in Etruria, and seems to have gone out of fashion almost entirely by the end of the fifth century. Its history can, however, be traced from the Boeotian fibulae of the Geometrical period (eighth century B.C.) down to the fourth century, when it is possible that such examples as occur are due to a sort of reflex influence of Etruscan art. The Boeotian fibulae form a peculiar local development of that form of ornament, emanating from Thebes, some with a large sail-shaped piece of metal attached to the foot, others with the bow or upper bar of the pin enlarged into a crescent-shaped or semicircular piece of metal. In the former case the designs are usually of a simple character corresponding to the animals and patterns on the contemporary vases of that locality; the latter are represented only by a few examples, among which are some remarkable specimens in the British Museum. One of these is particularly noteworthy for its mythological design, the slaying of the Hydra by Herakles, who is also attacked by the crab which Hera sent. On another a ship is represented. The style is rude, and not above the level of the Dipylon vases (p. 170), but the figures are much less conventional.

Coming down to a later stage of archaic art, that of the sixth century, we find, in a bronze cuirass excavated at Olympia, a very remarkable specimen of the work of the middle of that century.[1] The figures consist of a lion and a bull in a sort of medallion on each side of the upper portion, between which are two Sphinxes erect and confronted, and two panthers in similar attitude. Below is a frieze of figures, three each side, representing a lyre-player and a chorus, consisting of two girls and three men. All are clad in stiff, formal garments with elaborately-executed patterns, and the whole design recalls the earlier stages of black-figure vase-painting, when the fondness for friezes of animals was giving way to a preference for human figures. The late A. S. Murray has suggested that the poverty and harshness which are visible in the drawing are more characteristic of early Etruscan than of early Greek art, but it is too early a date at which to conceive the possibility of an Etruscan importation. The somewhat affected style of the whole composition is more in accordance with the Ionic art of the time, as reflected in the black-figured vases of Amasis and Exekias (p. 173).

[1] Murray, *Handbook of Greek Archaeology*, p. 122.

GREEK BRONZE-ENGRAVING

The transitional stage from archaic to perfected art is well illustrated by two bronze discs, one from Sicily, in the British Museum, the other from Aegina, at Berlin, which may be dated about 500-480 B.C.[1] In both cases the designs consist of a single figure of an athlete on either side, holding a spear, jumping-pole, or jumping-weights (ἁλτῆρες), the reference being to the contests of the *pentathlon*. The style exhibits a great advance on the cuirass; the figures might almost be copied from statues by Myron or Pythagoras, and the anatomical details are treated in the same way as in the contemporary vases of the earlier red-figure style.

The latest instances of Greek engraving on bronze are to be seen on the insides of the mirror-cases which we shall presently describe in another connection. There is a very fine instance found at Corinth,[2] with two figures personifying the city of Corinth and the island of Leukas, as the names inscribed over them show; the inscriptions are in Greek characters, but the style has much more in common with the Etruscan mirrors of the best period, and it has been argued, with some probability, that we have here an actual instance of importation from Etruria. The British Museum possesses two similar examples, one with a love-scene, the other with Aphrodite and Pan playing at the game of 'five stones,' a sort of variation of knucklebones.[3] The drawing in this last example is particularly fine, the attitudes are simple and natural, and the whole design of great beauty. All these three belong, as the character of their subjects would lead us to suppose, to the fourth century B.C.

Greek bronze-work in relief can be traced, if not back to so remote a period as the incised work, at all events down to a later date, and moreover is represented by a much larger series of examples. It is in fact difficult to select the most representative in a brief survey. But we can hardly pass over a series of reliefs recently found at Olympia, in Boeotia, and on the Acropolis at Athens, which represent the earliest purely Hellenic work in this metal. They are thin leaf-like plaques of bronze, of various shapes and sizes, some of which were probably used for decorating chests like that of Kypselos, others are of a purely votive character, and they are ornamented with a great variety of subjects. One of the most interesting is from Olympia, and preserves a type found on one of the quasi-Mycenaean island-gems (p. 208),

[1] The former is given on Plate cv.

[2] *Mon. Grecs*, 1873, pl. 3, now in the Louvre.

[3] See Plate cv.

that of the marine deity who is known as the Ἅλιος Γέρων or 'Old Man of the Sea.' Controversy has raged fiercely in regard to the school to which these reliefs belong, some authorities claiming for them a Corinthian or Argive origin, others connecting them with Chalcis in Euboea, an undoubted centre of early work in metal, and with the Ionic schools of Greek art. But there was certainly a close connection in the seventh century between Corinth and Chalcis.

During the sixth century, the period of the rise of sculpture and vase-painting, which has been described as 'the age of colour,' bronze relief-work appears to have enjoyed less popularity, but none the less continued to advance, and we may quote as an example of the improvement shown by the end of the sixth century a curious little figure of Athena found on the Acropolis at Athens. Being found among the *débris* of the Persian invasion, it can be dated before 480 B.C., and the style is still decidedly archaic, though characterised by the gracefulness seen in so many products of the ripe archaic period. Strictly speaking, it consists of two reliefs placed back to back, so as to show both sides of the figure, and in this respect it is unique. The gracefulness, or χάρις as the Greeks called it, with the careful attention to the treatment of drapery, is just what we see in the contemporary female figures from the Acropolis (p. 81); and it is combined in the present case with a distinct tendency to the idealism of the succeeding age.

We pass on for a hundred years or so, and reach the period when bronze relief-work reaches its height and attains a higher pitch of popularity than ever before. It now takes the form of figures or compositions separately executed (ἐμβλήματα) and attached to the object they were intended to adorn, instead of being fashioned along with it. Thus we find them adorning the tops of mirror-cases, the backs of vases, or pieces of armour. Of these the Siris bronzes (p. 126)[1] of course form the finest example, and there are also some very beautiful *emblemata* attached to the handles of bronze vases found in Rhodes and the neighbourhood. They appear to have been made in the island of Chalke; the subjects include Dionysos and Ariadne, and Boreas carrying off Oreithyia. The mirrors of this time were plain discs of bronze, one side of which was highly polished, the other occasionally engraved like the Etruscan, and they were kept in flat round cases of bronze, opening with a hinge, the tops of which were decorated with these *emblemata*. The subjects of the reliefs are varied,

[1] Illustrated on Plate CVI.

but frequently of an amatory character, suggesting that they were regarded as appropriate presents for ladies. They vary greatly in style, that, for instance, which covers the incised mirror described on p. 257, having a finely conceived representation of a woman accompanied by an attendant and Eros; the scene is evidently mythological, but while some have seen in it Danae receiving the shower of gold, others have interpreted it as Phaedra imparting to the nurse the secret of her guilty love.[1] An even finer piece of work is the well known Hawkins relief, recently acquired by the British Museum.[2] It was found at Paramythia (see p. 126), and has been carefully restored in wax by Flaxman. The subject has been disputed, but it is generally supposed to represent Aphrodite and Anchises or Paris and Oenone.

Examples of Greek jewellery, and indeed of gold or silver work in any form, are surprisingly rare during the sixth and fifth centuries, as we have already observed. It is the more remarkable, because although Greek taste would at all times have avoided any tendency to vulgar display of ornament, such as the Etruscans were addicted to, yet statues, vase-paintings, and other works of art give evidence that jewellery and ornaments were worn by Greek women throughout the period. Even the Athenian athletes of the sixth century were not averse to wearing ornaments in their hair.[3] And we know from Pausanias' description and other evidence that the statue of Athena Parthenos was adorned with much jewellery. An earring found on the Acropolis of Athens in 1874, and dating from the first half of the sixth century, stands almost by itself. The ring part is loop-shaped, of what is known as the 'woolsack' type, with a pendant in the form of a plaque on which are two figures in relief. These have been thought to represent the Arrhephori who made the peplos of Athena.[4] But the fact remains that between the seventh-century plaques of Kameiros and the treasures from the Crimea which we shall shortly describe, the goldsmith's art can only be illustrated by a few finger-rings or pairs of earrings, or by the quasi-Oriental objects found in many of the tombs of Cyprus which belong to this time. For the rest, as we have seen, we must be content with what Etruria has to tell us.

In Cyprus, on the sites of Amathus, Curium, and Marion, it is not unusual to find heavy gold-plated armlets terminating in lions' heads,

[1] See Plate CVII. for this subject.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Cf. Thuc. i. 6.
[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* ii. p. 324.

often admirably designed, and earrings of various types, the commonest being of wire twisted into a hoop and terminating, like the armlets, in lions' heads.[1] Cypriote tombs are notoriously difficult to date, but it seems probable that these types cover the fifth century. The typical Greek earring of the period is in the form of a disc ornamented with a rosette, or else of the spiral form already observed in Cyprus; there is also a type, of which a pair from Melos, in the British Museum, forms a good example, with a conical pendant attached to a flat upper part with filigree rim. In Asia Minor there is found a type in the form of a hoop, to the lower part of which is attached a cluster of globules, recalling the Homeric *τρίγληνα μορόεντα*.[2] Though hardly coming under the head of personal ornaments we must mention here for the beauty of its design a gold cylindrical box from Kameiros, in the British Museum,[3] on the top of which is a figure of Eros in relief, leaning against a column and playing with a toy resembling the modern bandilore; on the bottom is a Nereid on a dolphin carrying the helmet of Achilles. The date is not later than the end of the fifth century.

The goldsmith's art in Greece reached in the fourth century B.C. a pitch of magnificence and beauty combined with delicacy and fertility of invention which has never been surpassed. In no class of ornaments is it better illustrated than in the wonderful treasures obtained in the excavations of the Russian government at and near Kertch,[4] the ancient Panticapaeum, a remote outpost of Hellenic civilisation in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, which we now know as the Crimea. It was a colony of Miletus in Asia Minor, founded in the sixth century B.C., and in the fourth century was in alliance with Athens, with which city it enjoyed extensive commercial relations, as we learn from some of the private orations of Demosthenes.

A tomb explored as long ago as 1831 on a site known as Koul-Oba was found to contain a male and female skeleton surrounded by rich gold ornaments, silver vessels and other furniture.[5] The woman wore a diadem of electrum embossed with monsters and floral ornaments, a necklace of pendants and a collar, and on her breast were two large medallions of Athena Parthenos, the type of the head being evidently

[1] See, for instance, *Brit. Mus. Excavations in Cyprus*, pls. 13, 14; also Myres, *Cyprus Mus. Cat.*, p. 122. Examples from Curium are given on Plate CVIII.

[2] As worn by Hera (*Il.* xiv. 183).

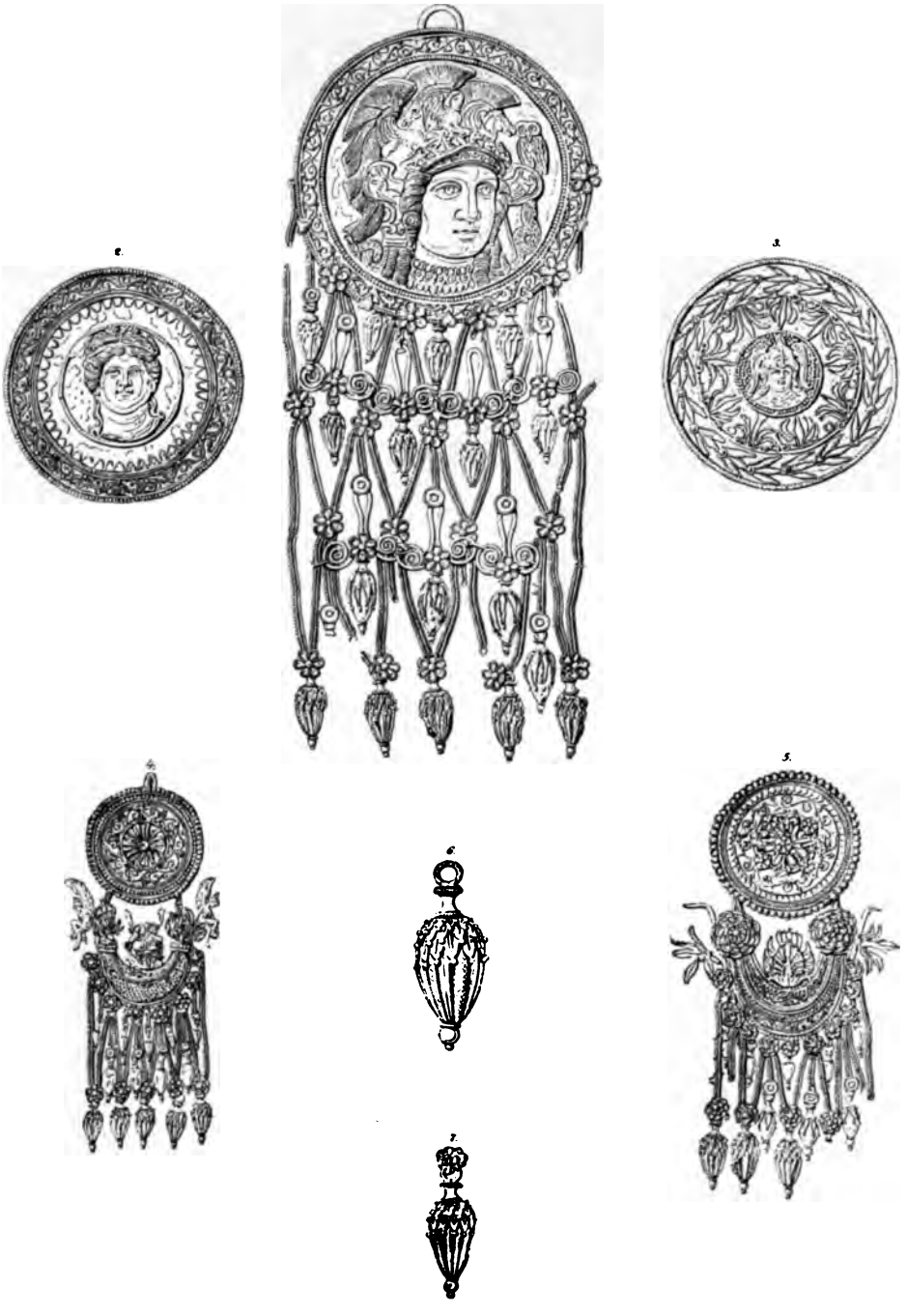
[3] Plate CVIII.

[4] They are all in the Hermitage Museum at St. Petersburg.

[5] See Newton, *Essays on Art*, p. 377.



GREEK GOLD-WORK OF THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.
(BRITISH MUSEUM)



GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM THE CRIMEA
(HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG)

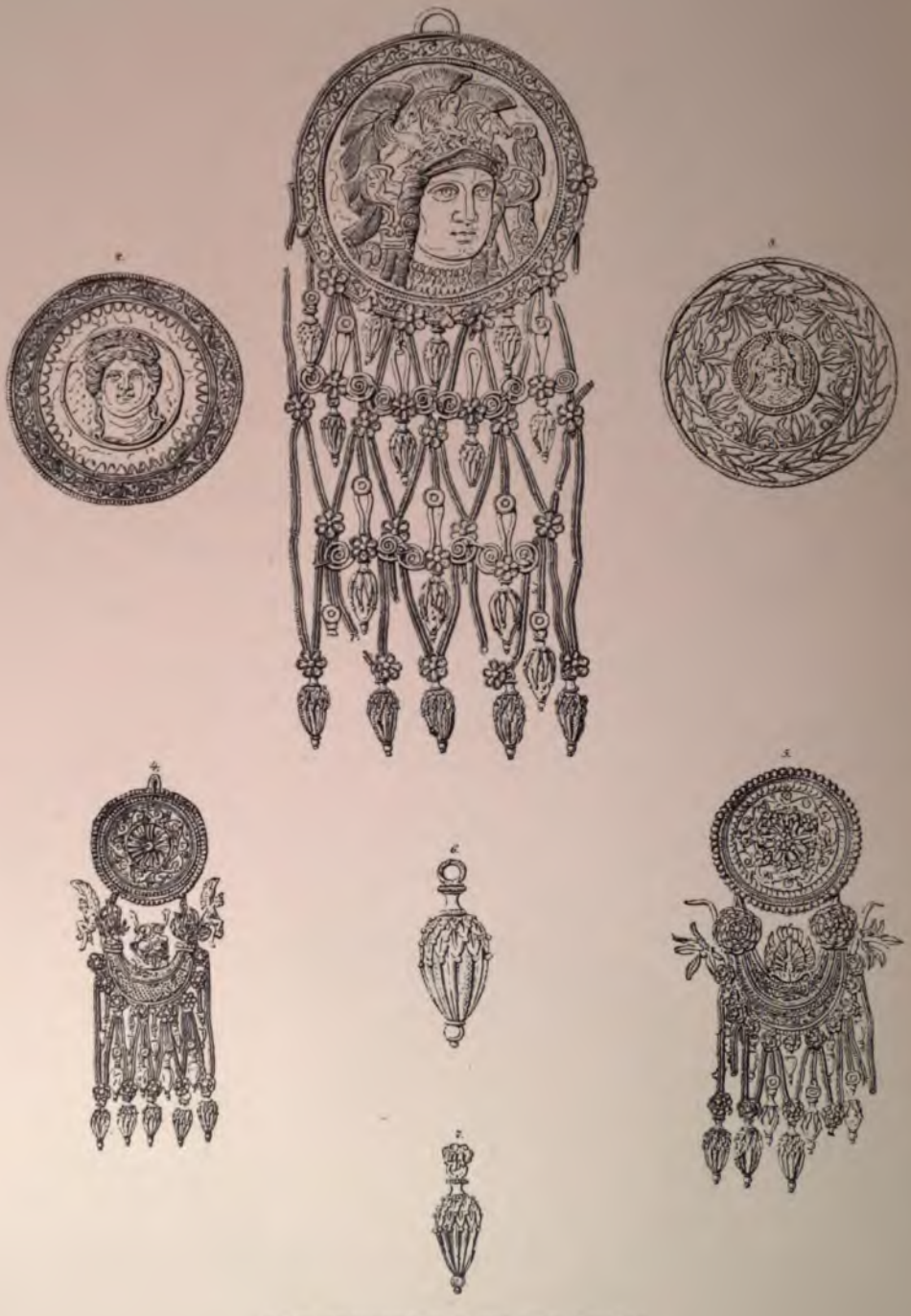
derived from the chryselephantine statue of Pheidias (p. 97).[1] The man wore a gold tiara, a torc ornamented with figures of Scythian horsemen, and bracelets terminating in Sphinxes, and his armour was plated with gold. From the sumptuous contents of this tomb it has been supposed that it must contain the remains of an Archon (the title of the local rulers) and his queen.

At Nikopolis in 1862-63 the tomb of a Scythian king was brought to light[2] which contained many fine gold ornaments and a silver-gilt amphora which has been described as the finest extant specimen of Greek *repoussé* work in this material. The body is ornamented with birds and floral arabesques, and on the shoulder is a frieze of Scythians breaking in or grooming horses; spouts in the form of lions' and horses' heads project from the side. The composition of this frieze is extremely spirited and lifelike, and the details of Scythian costume and the local types of horses are of particular interest. Among the ornaments is a gold plate from a quiver or bow-case with fine mythological compositions in relief, perhaps representing a scene from the story of Theseus. This is thought to be the work of an Athenian. Another gold plate from a scabbard was ornamented with a combat of Greeks and Scythians, and the handle of a sword with hunting scenes.

In 1864 the remains of a priestess were found in a wooden coffin in a tumulus at Bliznitza, her ornaments forming a treasure of richness and beauty beyond description.[3] They include a sling-shaped frontlet (*σφενδόνη*), two necklaces, a bracelet, and a huge pair of earrings, or rather pendants, for they appear to be too large to be worn in the ears, and must have been hung over them or attached to the head-dress.[4] These consist of medallions with Thetis on a dolphin bearing the armour of Achilles, from which is suspended an elaborate arrangement of chains and pendants, and were probably intended to be worn at solemn functions. With these objects was found a gold coin of Alexander, and, generally speaking, all the gold-work from Crimean tombs may be dated about 350-320 B.C.

Sir Charles Newton[5] regarded this series of ornaments as forming the finest series of ancient jewellery extant. The gold is wrought with a delicacy which shows that the artist thoroughly understood its

[1] See Plate CIX.
[2] Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1864, pls. 1, 10; Newton, *Essays on Art*, p. 381.
[3] Stephani, *op. cit.* 1865, pl. 1; Newton, *op. cit.* p. 383.
[4] See Plate CIX.
[5] *Op. cit.* p. 393.



GOLD ORNAMENTS FROM THE CRIMEA
(HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG)

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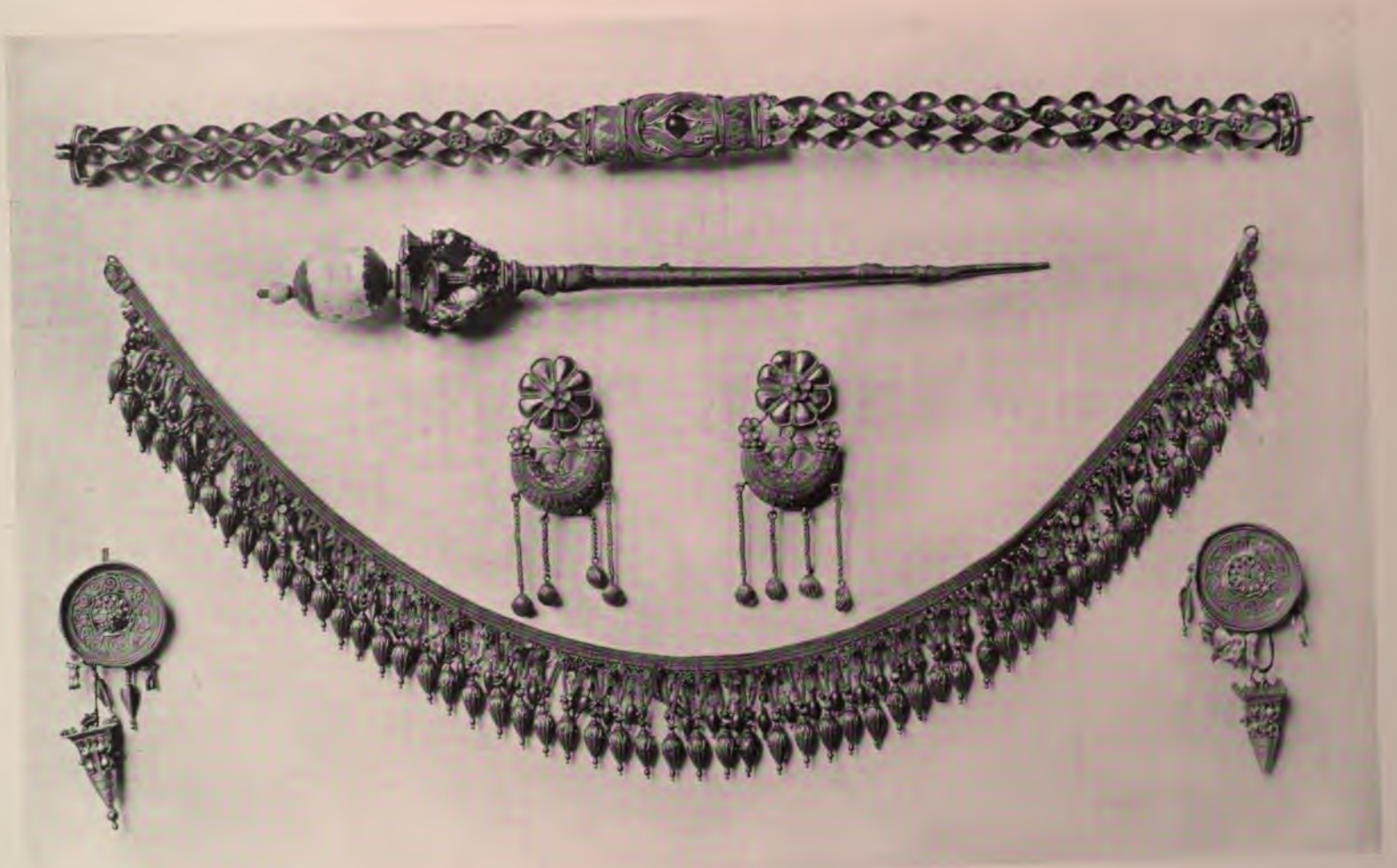
[1] See Plate CIX.
[2] Stephani, *Compte-Rendu*, 1864, pls. 1, 10; Newton, *Essays on Art*, p. 381.
[3] Stephani, *op. cit.* 1865, pl. 1; Newton, *op. cit.* p. 383.
[4] See Plate CIX.
[5] *Op. cit.* p. 393.

qualities, but its excellence is due not so much to an exquisite taste or to delicate manipulation as to mastery in modelling. He compares them with a necklace from Melos and a sceptre from Tarentum, which form the best examples of this period in the British Museum collection, and exhibit the same combination of filigree and coloured vitreous enamels, and with a bracelet and pair of earrings from Capua with lions' heads, as examples of perfection in *repoussé* work. Great fertility of invention is shown in the earrings, of which there are two main types, one of twisted wire ending in lions' heads, the other with a round disc masking the hook, to which are attached medallions and pendants in the form of an Eros or Victory. The main effect of these ornaments is due to the felicitous combination of small figures in *repoussé* with filagree and granulated patterns, and with vitreous enamel inlaying. Precious stones, it may be noted, are usually avoided, except in finger-rings.

It is perhaps an open question whether the Kertch ornaments are to be regarded as of local workmanship or as importations from Athens. A like difficulty recurs in regard to the fine painted vases of a slightly earlier period which are often found in the Crimean tombs, presenting the characteristics of the Attic 'late fine' style (p. 179). But among these is a vase signed by Xenophantos, who calls himself an Athenian, a fact which seems to imply that he was no longer resident in his native city, and to justify us in supposing that at this period—*i.e.*, subsequent to the fall of Athens in 404 B.C.—there was a migration of Athenian artists to various parts. If so, it is likely that goldsmiths, as well as vase-painters, were attracted to a friendly colony where there was an opening for them to carry on the trade which found more scope in the demands of luxurious barbarians than in the straitened circumstances of conquered Athens.

Of late years the region of Southern Russia has acquired an unenviable notoriety on account of the extensive forgeries which have doubtless been inspired by the finds at Kertch. The tiara of Saitaphernes and its melancholy history will be fresh in the memories of all, and is better allowed to pass into oblivion, but there is no doubt that it did not stand alone. M. Tyszkiewicz, in his entertaining *Souvenirs of an Old Collector*,[1] says:—'For some years past the forgery of gold objects has been increasing, and has extended to countries where swindlers were once hardly known. The chief new centres of the forgery of gold ornaments are the Crimea and adjacent districts,

[1] Eng. trans., p. 162.



LATER GREEK GOLD ORNAMENTS
(BRITISH MUSEUM)









HELLENISTIC SILVER WORK
(BRITISH MUSEUM)

Roumania, and Syria. . . . The unanimous admiration of artists and archaeologists for the splendid jewels furnished by the numerous tumuli of the Crimea and Southern Russia inspired some rogues with the idea of imitating and selling modern articles made in the same style. A factory of false jewellery was founded at Kertch.' He tells an amusing story of some gold articles and a silver plaque which he nearly bought, taking the bad features for barbaric details, but was stopped by Count Stroganoff who knew of the Kertch factory. 'The style of the forgeries,' he says, 'can be recognised in other articles which have found their way into museums . . . but it is necessary to distrust all works of art coming from Southern Russia.'

The ornaments from the Crimea are in every way typical of the best achievements of Greek gold-workers in the fourth century; but there are examples from other sites which, if on a smaller scale, are not really inferior in merit. Some of the finger-rings, for example, are engraved on the bezel (which is of plain gold without any setting) with designs of great merit, imitating the intaglios of the period. The British Museum collection contains very beautiful specimens of necklaces and earrings from Eretria, Melos, and Kyme in Aeolis, in which the principle of decoration is (as at Kertch) a combination of elaborate chain-work with pendants in the form of little covered jars, rosettes, or buds, or more elaborately-designed figures of Sirens, Cupids, or Victories. From Southern Italy there are two very noteworthy objects in the same collection: a sceptre from Tarentum which is crowned with a Corinthian capital surmounted by an apple, and has the stem covered with filigree work; and a crown, also from Calabria, of very delicate filagree patterns interspersed with Cupids.[1]

In all this Greek gold-work of the finest period the guiding principle is to regard the workmanship as of more importance than the material, a principle which we have already noted as adhered to in the engraved gems. The intrinsic worth of the metal is nothing, so long as it affords facilities for exquisite workmanship and unlimited play of fancy. In such objects as bracelets and crowns, however, which required more severity of treatment than earrings or necklaces, freedom and naturalism are not in the same degree conspicuous. In the succeeding century the delicacy of workmanship preserves almost the same high level, but simplicity and taste give way to over-elaboration and meretriciousness.

[1] Plate cx. gives specimens of the jewellery of this period, including the sceptre and ornaments from Eretria, Melos, and Kyme.

Before quitting the subject of gold ornaments it may be of interest to quote some further remarks of Count Tyszkiewicz on the subject of imitations and forgeries.[1] 'No metal,' he says, 'lends itself so easily to forgeries, owing to the fact that when it is pure it oxidises little even after the lapse of centuries, and takes no patina. . . . Up to recent years Rome, Naples, and Florence were the well-known laboratories of these imitations, which were often brought to a high degree of perfection. The elder Castellani . . . a skilful and clever jeweller, was the first to discover the secret of the manufacture of Etruscan jewellery, a subject which he studied profoundly. . . . After many attempts he succeeded in imitating the tiny golden grains with which Etruscan jewels are usually ornamented, but, to tell the truth, though he found out how to solder these grains on to the surface of the jewel, he was unable to make the little balls as small as those of the Etruscans—at least as the ones on the finest specimens, for the Etruscan goldsmiths put large grains on coarser-made jewellery. The workmen of the Casa Castellani used frequently to undertake work outside the *atelier*, and turned the skill which they had acquired there to good account in the service of swindlers. . . . But public suspicion has now been aroused, and . . . even at the public sales after the death of Alessandro Castellani a considerable number of these gold ornaments were left without a purchaser.'

'In Florence swindling concerned itself with another branch of gold ornaments, which it imitated to perfection. These were the large gold balls, sometimes solid and generally stamped, decorated with Etruscan subjects. The work is very carefully executed, and it is easy to be taken in. Naples does not shine in the perfection of its pseudo-antique jewellery. The treatment is coarse, heavy, pretentious, and often absurd.'

Greek work in chased silver is comparatively rare, at any rate as compared with that of the Roman period; but the fact appears to be that it was little used for works of art before the Hellenistic period. That was the age, when, as already noted in Chapter IX. (p. 183), painted vases began to go out of favour, and with the increase of wealth and luxury vases of metal came into general use for domestic and decorative purposes. Thus a new industry arose, and in Asia Minor there sprang up an important school of *caelatores* or silver-chasers of whom Pliny gives some account.[2] The first place he accords to Mentor (about

[1] *Souvenirs*, p. 159.

[2] *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. p. 154.

350 B.C.), for two cups by whom Crassus the orator paid four hundred pounds; other famous names were Akragas, Boethos and Mys, who made cups decorated with Cupids, Centaurs, Bacchic and hunting-scenes, which were preserved at Rhodes. Other chasers of renown lived at Cyzicus, Mytilene, and Ephesus. Zopyros made a cup representing the trial of Orestes by the Areopagus, Pytheas one with Ulysses and Diomede carrying off the Palladion. After the conquest of Asia in 189 B.C. Lucius Scipio carried off gold and silver-chased vases to the weight of fifteen hundred and fourteen hundred pounds respectively.

Besides chased vases we have a few examples of silver statuary, among which may be mentioned the figure of a boy playing with a goose, in the British Museum, dated by coins found with it near Alexandria, at about 240 B.C.[1] The interest of this figure lies in its subject, which as we have seen (p. 137) was characteristic of the period, these *genre* conceptions being associated with the sculptor Boethos of Carthage.[2] A statuette of Sarapis in the same collection was found with the Paramythia bronzes (p. 126); it is a fine piece of Hellenistic work.

Greek silver vases are distinguished by the simple refinement of their form and the delicate chasing of the ornaments; they begin in the third century B.C., but most existing specimens belong to the Roman Imperial age.[3] The Romans, however, were large collectors of antique specimens (as in the case of Crassus noted above), and many of these they closely imitated. Hence in the vases of the Bosco Reale treasure and other famous specimens, such as the Corsini vase, and those from Hildesheim and from Bernay, in the Bibliothèque Nationale,[4] we see reflected the spirit of the Hellenistic Age, just as it is in the Pompeian wall-paintings.

Three methods of decoration are found in the silver vases with reliefs. Either the figures are in *repoussé*, which is the general rule, or they were chiselled out like sculptured reliefs; sometimes these two methods are combined. Thirdly, they were made separately and soldered on, like the Siris bronzes and the attachments to the mirror-

[1] Plate CXI.

[2] The chaser Boethos mentioned above was a native of Bithynia, and therefore entirely distinct from the sculptor.

[3] Of the two vases given on Plate CXI., the smaller is of the Ptolemaic period. The other was found in the island of Chalke, near Rhodes, and probably dates from the second century B.C.

[4] See Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. des Antiqs.* s.v. CAELATURA, and for the Bosco Reale Treasure, *Monuments Piot*, vol. v.

cases and handles of bronze vases already described. In this case they were known as *emblemata* or *crustae*. Examples of the chiselling process are rare, but there are two fine examples of the Roman period: a vase at Naples, with the Apotheosis of Homer, and one at Munich with Trojan captives, in both cases with very low reliefs. The great silver vase from Nikopolis in the Crimea, described above, is an example of the chasing process, except for the heads of lions and winged horses, which are made separately in *repoussé* and attached.

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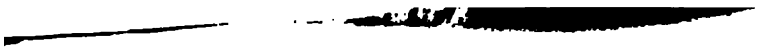
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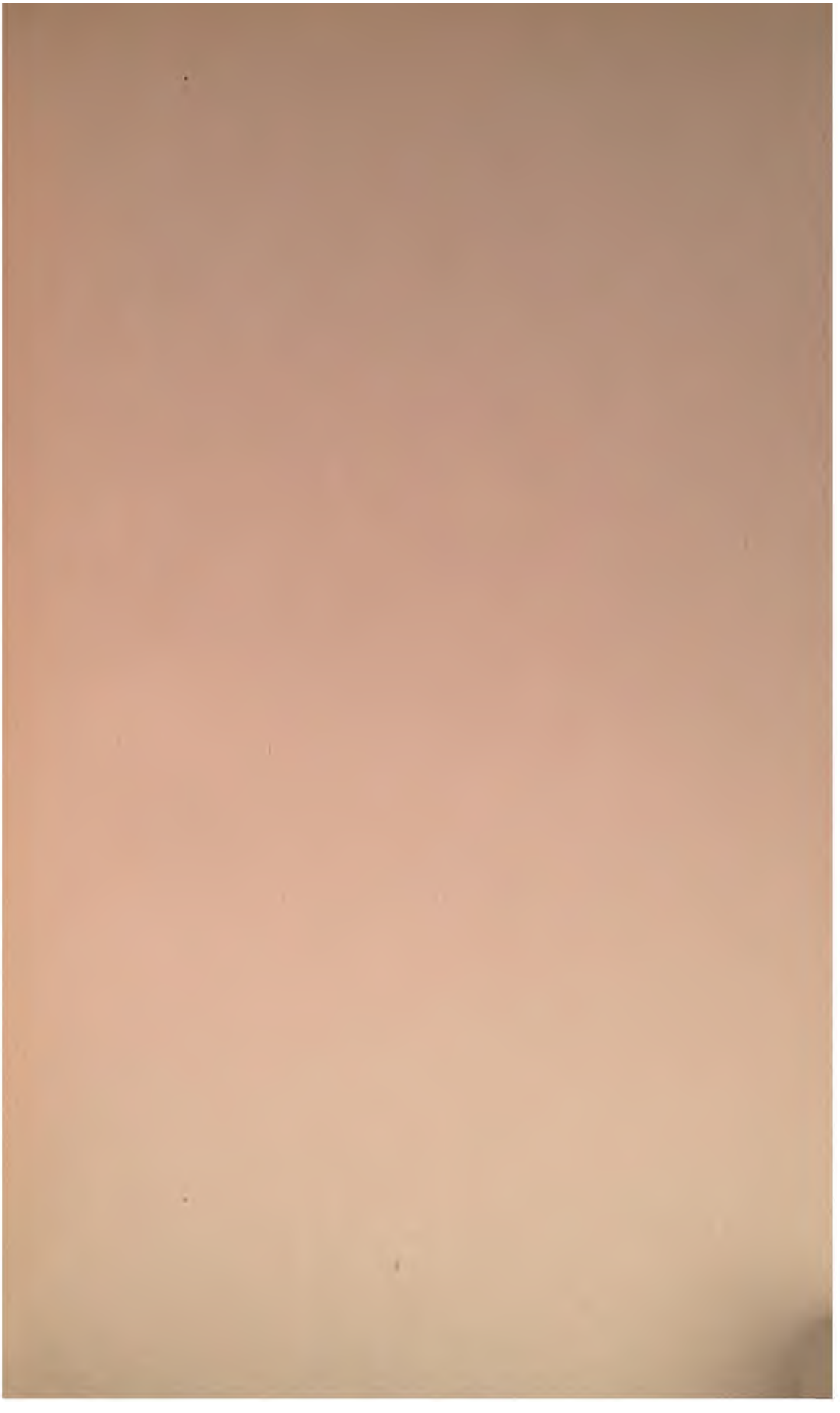
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